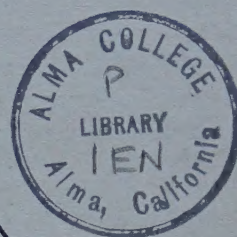
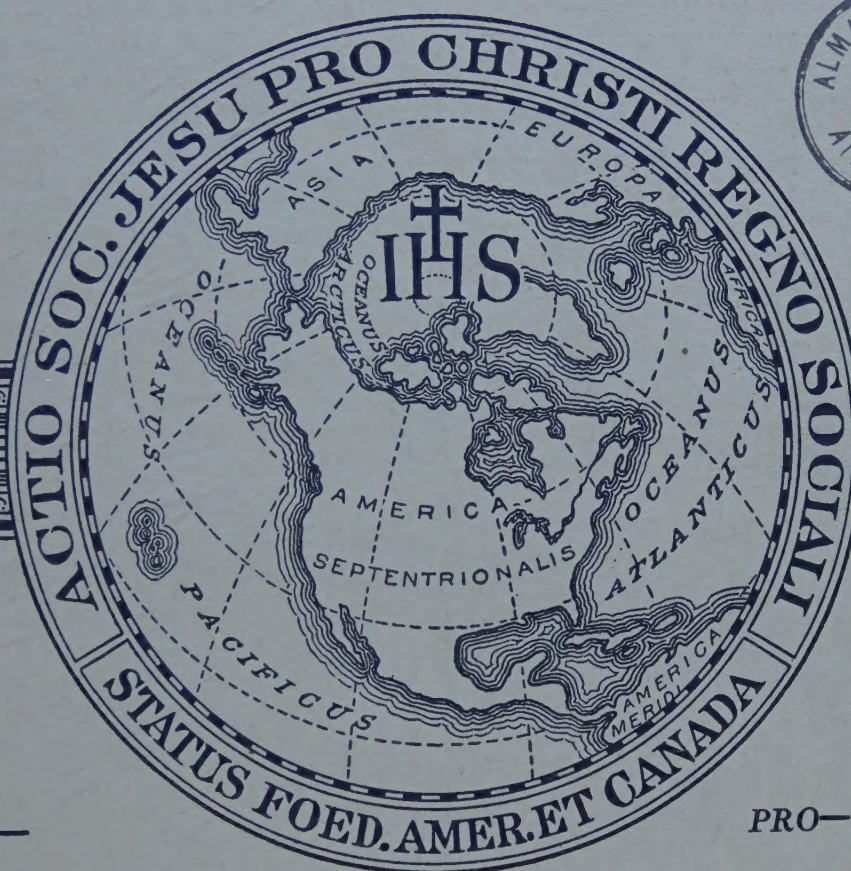


INFORMATIONES ET NOTITIAE

MANUSCRIPTI INSTAR AD USUM NOSTRORUM TANTUM



CONTRA—

Atheismum
Communismum
Cupiditatem individuorum

PRO—

Deo Vero et Vivo
Civitate Christiana
Caritate Christi

VOL. 1

■ ■ ■

MENSE JUNII 1935

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NO. 4

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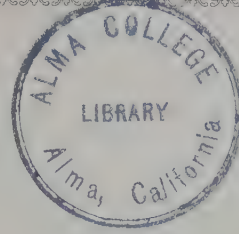
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The Atlantic Monthly
G. K's Weekly, London
The Clergy Review
The New Outlook



Prolegomena



THE PURPOSE AND SCOPE of this collection becomes apparent after careful reading of the several letters of Very Reverend Father General which follow in the first section. Taken in their entirety, his impressive statements leave no possible doubt as to the importance which his Paternity attaches to the present mobilization of the Society's spiritual and intellectual forces against Communism and international Atheism. The present grave problems which confront the whole American people are, in the minds of many thoughtful men, only the prelude to still more serious and fundamental conflicts yet to come. It is not without informed reason that the Society has been warned to prepare itself for a very obscure and uncertain future.

In accordance with instructions communicated to the undersigned, the information which he has been gathering for fourteen years should be placed at the disposal of the Society in the United States and Canada to the end that the resulting documentation may effect unity of action and coördinated efficiency. The various articles and documents here gathered in one place, will, it is hoped, serve as a preliminary reference work, a *Vade Mecum* or Source Book for those entrusted with this important activity in the several provinces. It has been in preparation since the Chicago meeting of July 3, 1934.

Gathered from many quarters of the world and from many languages, this initial survey of the field in which the coming conflicts of civilization will be fought reflects the opinion of writers especially qualified to evaluate the meaning, characteristics and tactics both of Communism and Atheism. Not all are Catholic authors, hence, something may be found here and there in their incidental language which will be at variance with Catholic belief and practice. Members of the Society, however, for whom this collection is exclusively intended, will be able to detect and correct any unacceptable expressions. The fact of reproduction does not carry the editor's approval of all a writer's opinions. The value of this miscellany of judgments from diverse schools consists in the unanimous appreciation they all share respecting the grave nature of the crisis now facing Christianity and civilization.

The present publication is number 4 in a series of "*Informationes et Notitiae*." The first three have already reached the various provinces in the form of mimeographed bibliographies and suggestions for lecturers and study clubs. For convenience, however, these previous documents have also been included here. Others will follow in the form of a continuing Bulletin of Information which will present a compendium and commentary on Communism and Atheism as they operate in the United States and Canada.

By direction of Father General these communications for the present are to be considered *ad usum nostrorum tantum*. Hence, the substance should be used to the best advantage but the publication itself should not pass outside the Society nor the texts be used in a manner that would infringe on copyrights.

The seal on the cover explains itself and the symbolism is patent. It has been approved by the Provincials of the United States and Canada. By unanimous consent of all who were consulted, it was deemed advisable to express the purposes of our movement in affirmative language and not solely in a negative formula against the opposing doctrines. The best and most effective attack in the campaign will take the shape of a constructive interpretation of Catholic teaching respecting Social Justice and the reform of existing abuses. Vigorous attack and negative criticism must be justified by a counter-program of social and economic reconstruction worthy of acceptance by sincere men.

While expressing his gratitude at being permitted to be of service to the various Province Committees, the editor earnestly begs their continued coöperation through suggestions or criticism. He will welcome such further material as would seem, in the opinion of Province Directors, to merit inclusion in succeeding numbers of our central bulletin.

Faithfully in Christ,

EDMUND A. WALSH, S.J.

Georgetown University,
May 31, 1935.

Epistola Adm. Rev. P. Generalis

Ad

Universam Societatem

"Quandoquidem in regionibus non paucis teterrimi increscunt Atheorum Militantium nisus, qui, in caeleste Numen temerario ausu rebellantes, nefandum illud atque scelestum effatum, suum veluti insigne, iactant: Absque Deo, contra Deum!, idcirco valde opportunum putamus ut, per proximam piacularis huius anni ad universum catholicum orbem prorogationem, gravissima eiusmodi iniuria, Divinae Maiestati lddata, precando expiandoque pro facultate resarciatur. Id faciant, quaesumus, christifideles omnes: id scilicet a misericordiarum Patre contendant, ut formidolosi horum pravorum hominum contatus, qui non modo religionem quamlibet, sed civilem etiam cultum verique nominis urbanitatem subvertere enituntur, tandem aliquando remittant atque incassum recidant. Id etiam suis precibus suisque piaculis impetrent, ut humani generis Redemptor obcaecatos eorum animos,—infitiatorum dicimus osorumque Dei,—caelestis luminis fulgore percellat, eosdemque suorum scelerum rubore paenitentiaque commotos, ad paternum amplexum misericorditer reducat."

PIUS, XI,
Quod Superiore Anno.

2, April 1934.

AD tria igitur Beatissimus Pater invitat: ad satisfactiones offerendas Divinae Maiestati pro horrendis iniuriis ei illatis; ad irritos reddendos atheorum conatus; ad illos ipsos miserrimos homines convertendos.

Quae quidem triplex Christi Vicarii invitatio, si omnium christifidelium corda sine dubio intime concutiet ac movebit, quanti magis incitare debet Societatis filios, quibus Sanctus Parens ac Legislator nobilissimam illam assignavit totius suae operositatis tesseram sublimemque finem: *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. Oportet nos omnes et singulos, Reverendi Patres et Fratres carissimi, non modo maestam Christi vocem filiorum instar toto corde excipere Eiusque desiderio, quantum in nobis est, quam plenissime facere satis; sed praeterea, ut decet S. Ignatii filios, in hac contra nefarios ipsius Divinae Maiestatis hostes sanctissima pugna "insignes nos exhibere in omni servitio Regis aeterni ac Domini universalis" ⁽¹⁾, "maiora et praeclariora quaedam munera magno animo offerentes" ⁽²⁾ . . .

Prima igitur cura sit oportet has diabolicas fraudes detegere et palam denuntiare: sciant omnes sibique persuadeant agi de maxima, quae unquam audita sit, et latissima coniuratione in "omne quod

dicitur Deus aut quod colitur" ⁽³⁾, ut "nomen eius non memoretur amplius" ⁽⁴⁾; agi de criminibus, ut alias animadverti, "contra divinam Maiestatem et quidquid religionem sapit, non modo impune, sed etiam secundum diabolicum quendam praestitutum ordinem, qualem vix alias in historia inveneris, perpetratis" ⁽⁵⁾; agi de odio illo formali Dei, quod infelix esse privilegium solius barathri infernalis et vix in humano corde hic in terris locum habere posse putavissemus. Atque ita videmus hos nefarios Satanæ ministros insidias vel tennellis pueris moliri, eosque non modo quovis religionis sensu spoliare, sed etiam pessimos mores inde a prima aetate aperte docere et diabolico odio imbuere. Huc profecto vergit v. gr. tyrannica illa praxis, nuper in Mexico a Gubernio imposita, qua singuli magistri adiguntur atheismum palam profiteri ut magisterium inire possint; quod si facere detrecent, aut ipsi cathedra removentur aut eorum scholae supprimuntur.

Haec si in vulgus apta ratione (id est contionibus, conferentiis, libellis, foliolis, ephemeridibus, etc.) spargentur si certis documentis, ut facile fieri poterit, illustrabuntur, non dubito fore ut plurimorum oculi aperiuntur et honestorum animi tantam nequitiam vehementer horreant atque detestentur, quippe quae non religionem modo sed ipsam humanitatem offendat atque impugnet, ita ut sine dubio antiquae Romani "hostes generis humani" illos declarassent . . .

⁽¹⁾ Cfr. *Exerc. Spirit.*, Contempl. de Regno Christi, vers. litter.

⁽²⁾ Cfr. *ibid.*, vers. vulg.

⁽³⁾ *II Thessal.*, II, 4.

⁽⁴⁾ *IEREM.*, XI, 19.

⁽⁵⁾ Cfr. *Acta Rom.*, vol. VI, 1930, pag. 583.

Verum, quamquam summi momenti est, ut dixi, diabolicas has machinationes tempestive detegere, id tamen haud facili negotio praestari potest, cum perversi illi homines insidias suas quam occultissime tendant. Mirum profecto simulque terribile est, et tamen certissimum, vaferimos atheismi emissarios, varia ratione, pro variis regionibus ad quas circumveniendas destinati sunt, Moscoviae astute educatos, in omnes vel remotissimas terras immitti; atque ita non solum in Europa et America, in Indiis et Sinis, ut omnes norunt, sed etiam in Iaponia aliisque extremis Asiae partibus, in Aegypto aliisque excultioribus Africae oris, in abditis quoque et paene ignotis Nigritarum pagis hi "filii tenebrarum" ⁽⁶⁾ iam inveniuntur, et "filiis lucis prudentiores in generatione sua" ⁽⁷⁾, ut alias semper, sese praebentes, mira constantia "cellulas" suas quas vocant passim constituunt. Nonne ad litteram verificatur id quod S. Pater Ignatius tam apte describit in prima parte meditationis de duobus Vexillis? nonne revera "Dux impiorum" seu "Caput omnium inimicorum" suos satellites "per totum orbem spargit ad nocendum, nullis civitatibus et locis, nullis personarum generibus immunibus relictis"?

Nostra igitur sedula cura sit oportet, ut hos emissarios cognoscamus, tenebricosas eorum "cellulas" deprehendamus, eorum artes dissipemus aut saltem aptis industriis minus noxias efficiamus. Ad hunc prudentis indagationis laborem instituendum efficaces adiutores inveniri poterunt in sodalibus consociationum nostris curis commissarum, maxime Congregationum Marianarum. Hi sodales, sive viri vel iuvenes et adulescentes, sive feminae vel puellae, plurimum ad id, si bene dirigantur, conferre poterunt, non solum ad hostium insidias detegendas, sed etiam ad eorum tela retundenda, ad christifideles contra ea muniendos, ad ipsos scelestos homines ad resipiscentiam revocandos; atque ita revera evadent apostoli illi laici, quales Summus Pontifex vult esse quotquot Actionem Catholicam profitentur.

Nam id quoque prospici debet omnique ratione curandum, ut illi ipsi Dei hostes, suam impietatem detestari, sicut olim Saulus, ex persecutoribus in vasa electionis convertantur et viventia fiant misericordiae Dei trophaea. Non equidem ignoro Nostros alicubi laudabili admodum studio ad hunc finem iam multum laborare ⁽⁸⁾; sed cupio, ut huiusmodi contra atheismum pugna ubique intentis viribus hoc anno, ad mentem Summi Pontificis, aut magis strenue in-

eatur, aut robustior fiat; vehementer cupio ut omnes Nostri, pro suo quisque gradu et munere, sentiant se in hoc proelio, ut initio dixi, insignes esse debere, si digni Ignatii Patris filii haberi volunt! cupio ut omnes sentiamus hoc esse nostrum commune et necessarium officium, secundum spiritum vocationis nostrae. Nam, quemadmodum anno superiore coram Procuratoribus Provinciarum declaravi, "mihi persuasum est Societatem Iesu, sacro Patris sui igne inflammata, ad multo plura contra hoc *mysterium iniquitatis* praestanda vocari" quam quae hactenus praestitit, "cum agatur, si unquam alias, de vindicando honore Dei inauditis ac vere satanicis blasphemiiis conculcato, de ipsis morum fundamentis defendendis, de innumerabili animarum multitudine ab extremo ac fere desperato aeternae perditionis periculo salvanda" ⁽⁹⁾. . . . Minora igitur et faciliora ministeria, ad mentem S. Ignatii, relinquamus, et privatas sollicitudines parvi facientes, nostrique penitus obliti, toti simus in hac pugna pro gloria Dei tutanda et promovenda, quamquam semper ad nutum sanctae obedientiae.

Neque putetis, Reverendi Patres Fratresque carissimi, me hoc periculum vividioribus potius quam verioribus coloribus exprimere. Periculum profecto gravissimum adest plus minusve ubique, et qui illud non vident, falluntur omnino, et sua hac falsa securitate iniquis inimicorum consiliis favent. Nos ipsi, quo diligentius perversas has machinationes detegere curabimus, eo melius videbimus quot quantaque ignoraverimus, quantumque ipsum malum superet id omne quod putaverimus. Qua quidem maiore rerum notitia, ad hanc pro Deo pugnam magis strenue sustinendam mirum quantum incitabimur.

Ad haec omnia opportune in singulis Provinciis paranda et ordinanda Praepositus Provincialis cum suis Consultoribus aliisque peritis Patribus, quos ipse in consilium hac in re adsciscendos duxerit, attente consideret et discutiat quid pro rerum locorumque rationibus in sua Provincia fieri possit ac debeat, et secundum ea quae deliberata fuerint, totum hoc negotium ut rem summi momenti disponat; aptum praeterea Patrem designet, qui totam hanc sanctam pugnam in Provincia dirigat. Spero equidem me quoque hanc actuosam Nostrorum operam efficaciter hinc adiuvare posse . . . Romae, die festo S. Petri Canisii,

27 aprilis 1934.

Vestrum omnium servus in Xto.

WŁODIMIRUS LEDÓCHOWSKI,

Praep. Gen. Soc. Iesu.

⁽⁶⁾ Cfr. *I Thessal.*, V, 5.

⁽⁷⁾ *LUC.*, XVI, 8.

⁽⁸⁾ Cfr. *Acta Rom.*, vol. VII, 1933, pp. 507-508.

⁽⁹⁾ *Acta Rom.*, vol. VII, 1933, pp. 507-508.



Letter of Very Rev.
Fr. General
To



The Provincials of the American Assistancy and Canada

REVEREND AND DEAR FATHERS PROVINCIAL; P. C.:

Rome, April 5, 1934.

IT HAS been my wish for some time to share with the Fathers Provincial of North America the concern which I feel in regard to a great and growing evil of our time, and to ask their aid in combating it. This evil is none other than Communism with its mighty appeal to millions of human beings in all parts of the world. Embittered by the acute economic distress, dissatisfied with legitimate authority, multitudes of men are joining the ranks of Communism, convinced that their only salvation lies in the revolutionary schemes propagated by Marx and Lenin, and actually carried out by the Bolsheviks. That the issue is one of paramount importance for religion, morality and the social order, needs no demonstration.

Confining myself to the religious aspect, I need only remind you that as a prerequisite to the restoration of human society, Communism demands the abolition of all religious creeds and practices, and the institution of absolute atheism and unbelief. In place of the supernatural, it demands a pagan materialism, fundamentally opposed to the Catholic doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the inviolability of conscience, the sanctity of marriage and family life. It has declared open war against God Himself, Whom it considers as its personal enemy.

In his Encyclical "*Quadragesimo Anno*" Our Holy Father the Pope has called the attention of the world to the danger of Communism. His words, it seems to me, contain a special appeal for us which we cannot ignore.

The Society of Jesus came into existence at a period particularly critical for the Church, with the providential mission of stemming the tide of revolt initiated by the so-called Reformation, and of promoting the counter-reformation of ecclesiastical discipline and christian morals. Our very enemies bear testimony to the valuable services rendered by the newly founded Order to the Catholic cause through-

out Europe. Does it not look as if the present emergency entailed a fresh call on our zeal and generosity as soldiers of Christ and of His Church, a call to take up arms against the great heresy of our times, more dangerous perhaps than any heresy of the past? For Communism is not merely a system of philosophy, an abstract theory fostered by scattered groups of men; it is a world-force powerfully organized, and even now actively at work in various countries with incalculable harm to souls and religion.

I am well aware that Ours have not waited till now to realize the menace of Communism, and I am pleased to know that individual Jesuits are at this very time battling against it in different Provinces. But it seems to me that the hour has come when these isolated efforts must become general, and when the Society as a united whole must concentrate its activity upon the momentous struggle. To start the campaign, I am sending my first appeal to the Provincials of the United States and Canada, inviting them to organize a plan of concerted action against Communism as it exists and labors in your country. Your well-known promptness and generosity in complying with the wishes of the Holy See and of Father General on other occasions encourage me to count on your interest and ready cooperation in . . . our Society's project of a world-wide systematic warfare against the common enemy of Christianity and civilization.

The accompanying suggestions will help to guide you in this important enterprise. Consider them first and then talk them over in your next meeting, and let me know your answer without unnecessary delay.

Commending myself to your Reverence's Holy Sacrifices and prayers, I am,

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

W. LEDÓCHOWSKI, S. J., *Praep. Gen. Soc. Jesu.*

Minutes of the Inter-Province Meeting on Communism and Atheism

Loyola University, Chicago, Ill., July 3-4, 1934

The meeting convened at 10:30 a. m., July 3. Adjourned 3 p. m., July 4. Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., in the chair.

Delegates present were:

Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.

Rev. Charles C. Chapman, S.J., 4133 Banks St., New Orleans, La.

Rev. Joseph Reiner, S.J., 1076 W. Roosevelt Road, Chicago, Ill.

(At present Father F. Siedenburgh, U. of Detroit.)

Rev. John F. Dougherty, S.J., 3220 S. E. 43rd St., Portland, Oreg.

(At present Father Leo Robinson, Gonzaga U., Spokane Wash.)

Rev. Joseph Husslein, S.J., St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.

Rev. Joseph MacDonnell, S.J., Weston College, Weston, Mass.

Rev. W. X. Bryan, S.J., Loyola College, Montreal, Canada.

Rev. Chas. E. Leahy, S.J., Loyola High School, 1901 Venice Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif.

R. P. Archambault, S.J., Directeur, Ecole Sociale Populaire, 1961 Rue Rachel, Est., Montreal, Canada

(represented by Rev. Louis Chagnon, S.J., Immaculate Conception College, Montreal, Canada.)

Rev. James Lyons, S.J., University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara, Calif. (Visitor).

THE LETTER of Very Rev. Father General of April 5 on Communism, together with its accompanying instructions as to procedure, and the letter of April 27th on international Atheism, were read. After the reading, the conclusion was reached that Fr. General's letter on Communism was a definite call to *practical* and *concerted action*, no merely for further survey or theoretical discussion.

The morning session was largely spent on a discussion of a general plan. The Chairman emphasized the fact that no new organization was intended but rather a co-ordination and intensifying of the already existing activities and agencies of the various Provinces.

In the afternoon session, after thorough discussion of the aforementioned instructions of Fr. General, the committee reached the unanimous decision that the following constitute the only practical method of putting the Instruction into execution:

Resolved, 1—That each Province Director, upon his return to his province, shall form around him a small workable Executive Committee, the number of members being left to his discretion.

Resolved, 2—That this committee shall convoke a regional conference, which conference shall be attended by one man from each college, high school, parish, etc., within his province. These men to be personally named by Fr. Provincial.

When the regional conference meets, the following program should be communicated to the respective delegates:

1. There should be a regular course in each college and university, based on the encyclicals, with special emphasis on the errors and abuses of Capitalism and

Communism, particularly on the atheistic objectives of the latter. Every college or university student who has not taken such a course in Sociology or Economics from the Catholic viewpoint should be required to take this course.

2. In each college and university, moreover, selected students from the upper classes should be drilled and prepared to combat Communism in a practical way:—by skill in debate; by preparing speeches for clubs and other gatherings to which they may be sent by college authorities.

3. Finally, a course of lectures should be given for the general public, on the Catholic solution as outlined in the encyclicals. This presentation should be especially adapted for non-Catholics.

4. A regular course should be organized in high schools and academies, but adapted to the age and mentality of the students. Thus, a course in Sociology may be put in for the Senior year of high school. (Note:—a list of text books suitable for this course will be sent out from a Central Bureau of Information).

5. The Sodality, as a recognized Jesuit instrumentality, should be utilized to promote this program by means of lectures, conferences and the like.

6. The committee desires to commend the consistently good work of the Jesuit magazines, periodicals and reviews, urging them to continue to supply their readers with sound criticism of the social evils of the day, together with constructive suggestions for the betterment thereof.

7. Ours should be encouraged to write frequent articles in support of this program not only for the Catholic but for the secular press of the country.

8. As far as is consonant with diocesan regulations, Advent and Lenten sermons, etc., should have special reference to atheism as developed under Communist auspices. Press releases should be prepared and distributed well in advance to insure the widest possible

publicity. The same recommendation is made for Mission Bands.

9. Fathers engaged in permanent parish work should foster frequent discussions of these same problems in clubs and Sodalities, both of men and women.

10. In houses of retreat special stress should be placed upon the social implications of Catholicity and the responsibility of the individual in this matter. We recommend that more Catholic reading matter, of recent publication, on this subject be placed at the disposal of retreatants.

11. We urge strongly, that opportunities be grasped or created for using the radio to further this program.

12. Chaplains of Boy Scouts and of Summer Camps should be on the alert to use their opportunities to instill strong Catholic principles. Much harm is being done in similar camps under Communist auspices where atheism, disrespect of authority and violent revolution are openly taught.

13. Ours in charge of Parochial Schools should be warned that organized attempts, often of a blasphemous nature, are being made to instill Communist principles even into the minds of elementary school children. Means of control to counteract such propaganda should be studied. Prayer, acts of self-sacrifice and expiation should be employed as well as positive instruction.

14. According to No. 2 of the Instruction accompanying the letter of the Very Rev. Fr. General on Communism, information and documentation is to be obtained from Fr. E. A. Walsh. It was the unanimous opinion that a Central Bureau of Information be established from which bulletins of information, reading lists, etc., would be sent out to each province. It is absolutely necessary to have authentic information in order to carry on the work. A small fraction of the money spent on the Soviet atheistic program will make our counter-attack possible and effective. . . .

15. A copy of this plan shall be submitted to each Provincial.

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

After the Chicago meeting, Province Committees were formed and men chosen in each house to undertake the special activities outlined in the resolutions there adopted. In the course of the ensuing year, an European Centre was established at Rome, as announced in the following letter of Very Reverend Father General. This central office will be in contact with other European organizations combatting Communism and Atheism; they are located in Montreal, Paris, London, Brussels, Geneva, Berlin, Rotterdam and Barcelona.

Whereas many of these Associations devote their attention to the political, economic and social aspects of Communism, the Roman Centre of the Society will deal more particularly with the anti-religious aspects. Communism, because of its ambitious program, includes all human activities and has been very properly described as a "solar system."

In pursuance of the directions of Father General, special Committees have now been established in all the Provinces of the Society in Europe. The whole Company, from Rome to the farthest outpost of the Missions, has been mobilized to unified action

during the past year. From the Oriental Institute in Rome, Father Ledit has begun to publish his "*Lettres de Rome*" with their interesting and authentic reports on the Communist International and its affiliates. Thus in less than ten months a campaign has been initiated on a world-wide scale and liaison established between the units. In the United States considerable progress has been reported,—from New England to California. In Canada the excellent work of P. Archambault, S.J., is well known, particularly the "*Journées anti-Communistes*," at Montreal.

In August of this year (1935) the Provinces of Maryland-New York and New England will hold a three-day conference for the study of Communism in all its phases; the topics having been chosen and assigned during Easter week. Chicago and Missouri will combine for the same purpose towards the first of September. Similar plans are in formation for the Southern and Far Western Provinces. The proceedings of these important meetings will be reviewed in a later number of "*Informationes et Notitiae*."

Epistola Adm. Rev. P. Generalis

Ad

Patres Qui in Provinciis Pugnam Contra
Atheismum Dirigunt ac Promovent

REVERENDE IN XTO. PATER; P. XT.:

Litteris ad universam Societatem die 27 aprilis huius anni datis, omnes Provinciarum Praepositos rogavi ut aptum Patrem, qui pugnam contra atheismum in Provincia dirigeret, designarent. Quod quidem iam in multis Provinciis factum esse non sine gaudio audiui, et in reliquis ut mox fiat valde exopto.

In eadem epistola promiseram me curaturum ut centrum quoddam Romae constitueretur, quod actuosam Nostrorum operam efficaciter adiuvari posset. Cum autem nunc frequentiores hinc illinc ad me petitiones deferantur, quibus ad hanc promissionem adimplendam urgeor, siquidem huius centralis auxilii magis in dies persentitur necessitas; non obstante magna difficultate aptos homines inveniendi, tamen, Deo favente, iam nunc promissa solvere possum, peculiarem ad id Secretariatum statuens, qui sedem habet Romae apud Pontificium Institutum Orientale (*Piazza S. Maria Maggiore*, 7—Roma, 128), eiusque curam aget P. Iosephus Ledit, e Prov. Oregoniensi, in eodem Instituto Orientali Professor et Praefectus spiritualis Pontificii Collegii Russici, addito socio P. Ioanne Ryder, e Prov. Angliae, uno e primis inter Nostros qui in ritu orientali non ita pridem Romae sacerdotio initiati sunt.

Huius Secretariatus erit informationes accuratas et, quantum fieri poterit, universales colligere de diffusionem seu "propaganda" quam dicunt atheistica directa et indirecta per orbem terrarum, collectasque distribuere; peculiari autem ratione ea diligenter investigare quae in atheistarum patria, Russia nempe communistica, contra Deum et religionem fiunt et tam difficulter resciri possunt; petentibus informationes dare eosque consiliis et suggestionibus

iuvari; de omnibus denique Patri Generali plenas relationes exhibere, ut omnes Nostrorum hac in re modestos labores apte dirigere et opportune coordinare possit; atque ita centro centrum, Moscovitico nempe Romanum, aliquali ratione opponatur.

Quapropter R. V. persuasum sibi habeat magni momenti in Domino esse officium sibi commissum, atque ea alacritate quae tanto negotio convenit, quaecumque in sua Provincia de communistarum impia coniuratione et "propaganda" congerere potuerit, accurate tamen certa pro certis et dubia pro dubiis referens, necnon quae ad illas machinationes impediendas fiant, Romano huic Secretariatus indendum mittere curet. Quod si Patres ex omnibus mundi regionibus in quibus Societas nostra sub Christi Vexillo militat, id contentis viribus fideliter praestent, nullum dubium quin hoc novum opus, sub singulari S. Michaelis Archangeli protectione constitutum, ad Dei gloriam et animarum salutem haud parum conferre possit.

Exinde etiam ipsi Rae. Vae. non parva derivabitur utilitas ad munus suum efficacius adimplendum: ab hoc enim centro authenticas informationes de nefanda illa atheistarum per universum mundum activitate R. V. obtinebit, et praesertim de Russia; quibus poterit ipsas forte de sua regione notitias complere atque copiosam materiam sibi parare ad communistarum atheismum conferentiis, foliolis, ephemeridibus etc. validius oppugnandum.

Rae. Vae. laboribus paterne in Domino benedico et ss.SS. me enixe commendo.

Romae, die festo D.N. Iesu Christi Regis,
28 octobris 1934.

Rae. Vae Servus in Xto.

WŁODIMIRUS LEDÓCHOWSKI,
Praep. Gen. Soc. Iesu.



PART I

Communism



Origin—Doctrines—History—

Philosophy—Methods—

Significance

Communism . . .

By REV. LEWIS WATT, S.J., B.S.

*From Catholic Truth Society
London*

TO ACCUSE the Church of being an instrument in the hands of the wealthy for the oppression of the workers has always been part of the tactics of Marxism, and this accusation is being vehemently made by the Communist Party to-day. It is true that the Church is not the only object of communist denunciations. To say nothing of capitalists (whom one expects communists to denounce), the workers' leaders in the trade unions and the Labour Party are constantly held up to scorn and contempt as "yellow" or "reformists" by communist writers and speakers. The workers themselves are well able to judge the value of these denunciations when directed against their own leaders, but unless they are acquainted with the official social teaching of the Catholic Church they may be deceived by such statements as this:

The Catholic Church, with the Pope in its van, is now an important bulwark of all counter-revolutionary organisations and forces. It is the good and faithful servant not only of the old capitalist land-owning bourgeoisie, but also of the new bourgeoisie—the industrial and financial barons of to-day. (*Religion in the U.S.S.R.*, by E. Yaroslavsky, 1932, p. 34).

Catholic workers will be put on their guard by other statements on the same page of this book, as, for instance, that "a man may commit any crime, but on the payment of a certain sum he can receive pardon from the Pope, and not only for sins already committed; for cash you may even have your future sins redeemed in advance." The falsity of No-Popery of this type is no greater than the falsity of the charge that the Pope is an instrument in the hands of the capitalists. Even Yaroslavsky has to admit on an earlier page that the Pope has complained of the lack of support his campaign for social justice has received from capitalist governments, a strange complaint to come from "a good and faithful servant" of the capitalists!

Perhaps Yaroslavsky has never read the encyclical letter of Pius XI on *The Social Order* (1931, C.T.S., 2d.), and, unfortunately, many of those who read his book will know nothing of Catholic social teaching. They would be surprised to find in the papal letter just referred to a demand that every adult working-man should receive a wage sufficient for the ordinary domestic needs of himself and his family, as well as enough to enable him to put something aside for the future, and that wherever possible employees should share in ownership, management or profits. Those who imagine that the Pope

is the henchman of Big Business would find it hard to explain such words as these (from the same letter):

The immense number of proletarians on the one hand, and the immense wealth of certain very rich people on the other, are an unanswerable argument that the earthly goods so abundantly produced in this age of industrialism are far from rightly distributed and equitably shared among the various classes of men. . . . In our days not only is wealth concentrated, but immense power and economic domination are concentrated in the hands of a few, and those few are frequently not the owners, but only the trustees and directors of invested funds. . . . Some have become so hardened against the stings of conscience as to hold all means good which enable them to increase their profits. . . . The regulations legally enacted for joint-stock companies have given occasion to abominable abuses.

Yaroslavsky may not have read this encyclical letter, but he has certainly read another encyclical (*The Troubles of Our Time: 1932, C.T.S., 2d.*), for he expressly refers to it; but he fails to quote a passage which he would not have been able to reconcile with his accusation against the Pope:

From greed arises narrow individualism, which orders and subordinates everything to its own advantage, without taking account of others, on the contrary trampling under foot all rights of others. Hence also the disorder and inequality which accompany the accumulation of the wealth of nations in the hands of a small group of individuals, who manipulate the market of the world at their own caprice, to the immense harm of the masses.

Pope Pius XI is well aware of the accusation which we have been discussing, and, while indignantly repudiating it so far as the Catholic Church is concerned, he gravely censures not only "those who out of greed for gain are not ashamed to oppress the worker," but also "those who even abuse religion itself, cloaking their own unjust impositions under its name, that they may protect themselves against the clearly just demands of their employees." (*Encyclical on The Social Order*, p. 56, C.T.S.).

Outline of Marxism

Karl Marx (1818-1883) is the founder of modern communism, or, as he also called it, "scientific socialism" (to distinguish it from the utopian theories which had preceded it). During his education at Bonn and Berlin, he accepted the philosophical ideas of the German philosopher Hegel, according to which the whole course of human history is simply the evolution of a Universal Spirit according

to necessary and inevitable laws. Later, owing to reading an anti-Christian book by Ludwig Feuerbach, *The Essence of Christianity* (1841), Marx decided that Hegel's philosophy ought to be "stood on its head," as he put it. He became a materialist, rejecting the view that the course of history is the manifestation of the evolution of a World Spirit, though not the general conception that the course of history is due to necessary and inevitable laws. His own theory, known as the materialist conception of history, was outlined by him in his *Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and developed by his friend Friedrich Engels.

According to this theory, in Marx's own words,

The method prevailing in any society of producing the material livelihood determines the social, political and intellectual life of men in general. It is not men's consciousness which determines their mode of life; on the contrary, it is their social life which determines their consciousness. When the material productive forces of society have advanced to a certain stage of their development they come into opposition with the old conditions of production, or, to use a legal expression, with the old property relations. . . . These antiquated property relations now become hindrances. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic basis the whole vast superstructure (i.e., of social, political and intellectual life) undergoes, sooner or later, a revolution.

The basic cause, then, of the course of history is the method of producing material goods, and the changes which take place in this method. Such changes, Marx holds, are not due to conscious human action; they occur "unconsciously, strictly according to the laws of natural science." When they have taken place, men become conscious of a clash between the new methods of production and the old "legal, political, religious, artistical or philosophical, in short, ideological, superstructure; with reference to these men fight out this conflict as a revolution, conscious of their opposing interests. This conflict takes the form of a class struggle." (All these quotations are taken from the preface to *The Critique of Political Economy*.)

In the *Communist Manifesto*, a revolutionary document published by Marx in 1848, we see this theory applied to the facts of history. The fundamental proposition of the *Manifesto* is that the whole history of mankind since the disappearance of primitive tribal society has been a history of class-struggles between exploiters and exploited. So far as the *Manifesto* can be said to attempt a proof of this, it does so in the first chapter, by what professes to be a survey of the course of history. This survey is extraordinarily superficial and incomplete. Three great periods only are mentioned; that of ancient Rome (which is disposed of in nine words), the mediæval period (dealt with in a very few sentences), and the modern period dominated by the "bourgeoisie." Although Marx asserts that this

period had lasted, when he wrote, scarce one hundred years, he devotes far the greater part of the chapter to it. He sees the period as one of class-war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the inevitable result of which will be the victory of the proletariat. This will become the ruling class, and will wrest all capital from the hands of the bourgeoisie and sweep away the old conditions of production. Thereupon the necessary conditions for class-distinctions will vanish, and so the class-war will cease. The resulting social organisation he vaguely describes as "an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

Perfect Communism

As it is important to know more exactly what this final perfect social state will be, we must consider it a little more in detail. In his *Criticism of the Gotha Programme*, Marx describes it in these words:

In the highest phase of communist society, after the disappearance of the enslavement of man caused by his subjection to the principle of the division of labour; when, together with this, the opposition between brain and manual work will have disappeared; when labour will have ceased to be a mere means of supporting life and will itself have become one of the first necessities of life; when, with the all-round development of the individual, the productive forces too will have grown to maturity, and all the forces of social wealth will be pouring an uninterrupted torrent—only then will society be able to inscribe on its banner: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs."

It is obvious that this raises many questions about the economic organisation of such a society, questions which become the more urgent as we study communist attempts to bring the picture down from the clouds on to the earth, as will be seen on a later page. It is not surprising that no less an authority than Lenin himself has declared that "*it has never entered the head of any socialist 'to promise' that the highest phase of communism will actually arrive.*" (*The State and Revolution*.) Yet, if its actual arrival cannot be promised, this can only be either because the end of the world may arrive first, or because there is something wrong with Marx's reading of history and his interpretation of the laws which govern social evolution.

Socialism

This word is used in a variety of senses by various people. Here it is taken in the communist sense. In the words of Lenin, "That which is generally called Socialism is termed by Marx the first or lower phase of communist society." It is the transitional stage between perfect communism and capitalism. At this stage, the State with its powers of coercion (police, law courts, army and navy) has not ceased to exist, as we are told it will have when (if ever) perfect communism arrives. But it is a State under the

control of the proletariat. At this stage, the State is occupied with the task of crushing the bourgeoisie and of abolishing class-distinctions. The means of production have been seized by the State, and the former owners expropriated (of course without compensation). At this stage, too, the principle of distribution is: From each according to his ability, to each according to his work. Communists (*e.g.*, Lenin in the book already quoted) admit that this stage will be a protracted one, and will only come to an end when it has reached "the point of breaking away from the division of labour, of the destruction of the antagonism between brain and manual work, of the transformation of work into a 'first necessity of life' . . . when people have become accustomed to observe the fundamental principles of social life, and their labour is so productive that they will voluntarily work according to their abilities." Lenin frankly admits that it is quite impossible to know by what practical measures mankind will pass from socialism to communism. So long as socialism lasts, "the citizens are the hired employees of the State, which must exercise the strictest control of the quantity of labour and the quantity of consumption." It is the stage in which Russia is at the present moment.

The End of Capitalism

Marx prophesied that capitalism would bring about its own downfall owing to its intrinsic "contradictions." Industry would pass from free competition into an era of trusts and combines. Wealth would become more and more concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer people, and the proletariat would become more and more impoverished, for all the profits of the bourgeoisie are extracted from the labour of the proletariat in the shape of surplus-value. The impoverishment of the masses destroys the market for the output of industry, so that the bourgeoisie have gained but an empty victory. At this point the proletariat rises in armed revolution, seizes the machinery of the State, and establishes socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comments

To begin with the last point, although, as the Pope has pointed out, the distribution of wealth in industrialised nations is gravely defective, still the condition of the proletariat has certainly improved, and not got steadily worse, since Marx made his prophecies. It was the appreciation of this fact which gave rise in the nineties of last century to the movement called "Revisionism" amongst Marxists. The Revisionists, led by Bernstein, were not content to wait until, by an inevitable law, the proletariat's misery became so great as to drive it to revolt. They saw that the workers had improved their condition, and they decided to press for social reforms to improve them still further, with a view to attaining social-

ism by political means. Such an attitude is anathema to communists, who refuse to recognise revisionists and reformists as true Marxists. The mass of the workers have been wise enough to prefer a bird in the hand to a possible bird in the bush. They have chosen to press for immediate reforms and improved conditions of labour here and now rather than to sink into misery as a first step towards a communist society which may never materialise, and certainly will not arrive in their life-time.

But even if perfect communism ever did come into existence, why should it not pass away as all other forms of social organisation have passed away? Are the inevitable laws which, according to Marx, govern the course of history with iron necessity, to come to an end when communism is established? If it be replied that these laws work only through the class-struggle, which will end with the coming of perfect communism and the abolition of private property (at least in the means of production), one can but inquire how social evolution ever began; because in primitive society, we are told, there was no private property, and therefore there can have been no class-struggle. Yet Marxists always assume that the perfect communist society is the final flower of social evolution, the earthly paradise.

The fact is that the class-struggle in Marxist theory is made to bear more weight than it can carry. The division of the mass of the nation into two warring groups is unreal, though it is essential to the materialist conception of history. There are many more classes than those of the bourgeoisie (by which word Marx probably meant the manufacturers of his day) and the proletariat, a word which Marx uses in several senses. With the growth of working-class investment, an individual may now be both a capitalist and a worker. If we are to find the key to the course of past history in a struggle between classes, these were chiefly classes of *capitalists* in conflict with one another, *e.g.*, the merchants against the craft-gilds in the middle ages, town-capitalists against country-capitalists in the sixteenth century, commercial and financial interests against industrial interests to-day. As a matter of fact, class-struggles of all kinds are but one element in the complex web of social evolution.

Marx did well to reject the pantheistic theory of Hegel, but he has fallen into the opposite error of believing that materialism can provide a complete philosophy of life. No one would deny that man's mind is influenced by his environment, material, social, scientific, etc. But the materialist conception of history goes far beyond that. It subordinates mind and matter. It reduces the work of the mind to that of mirroring changes in production; or if it admits, as Engels did when pressed, that mind has some influence on social evolution, it says that this influence itself is caused by changes in material

production. This is grossly to underestimate the power of the mind to originate change. Why attribute less power to the mind than to matter? Mere matter, as we know, creates and can create nothing. The mind can. It was mind which created Marxism itself, and Marxism owes much of its popularity today to the fact that it appeals to the *minds* of many as much as, or more than, to their private interests; and Marxist perfect communism makes its appeal because it seems to promise opportunities for spiritual activities which are stifled by material conditions to-day.

Finally, one may reasonably ask, Whence come these laws, as inevitable as those of natural science, which govern social evolution? Is the lawgiver matter, or mind?

The Communist International

The Communist (or Third) International, which claims to represent the political interests of the workers throughout the world, was founded at Moscow by the Russian Bolsheviks in 1919. It considers itself to be the only legitimate successor of the First International, with which Marx was so closely associated from its foundation in 1864 until the rivalry between himself and Bakunin caused its collapse in 1872. The Congress which established the Communist International (or Comintern, as it is often called) adopted the policy of the Communist Manifesto. It proclaimed the need for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, achieved by armed revolution, and the socialisation of the great estates and of the means of production and distribution. The important Second Congress (Moscow, 1920) laid down twenty-one conditions (called "theses") for entrance into the Comintern, and these are still in force. These conditions for affiliation centralise power in the Executive of the Comintern. They state (amongst other things) that, for a new Party to affiliate, its general propaganda and agitation must be of a definitely communist character and correspond to the programme and decisions of the Comintern; not only must capitalists be denounced, but also "reformists" of every kind; alleging that communists can have no confidence in "bourgeois" laws, they order a parallel illegal machinery to be set up to assist the revolution; persistent propaganda is to be carried out in the Army, legally or illegally; social patriotism and social pacifism must be renounced; there must be a complete rupture with "reformism" and its leaders; systematic communist work must be carried on in the trade unions, co-operative societies and other organisations of workers, and within them communist groups must be formed which are to be completely subordinated to the Communist Party; a steady struggle is to be conducted against the International Federation of

Trade Unions and in favour of the Red International of Trade Unions; all resolutions adopted by the Comintern and its Executive Committee are binding on all affiliated parties.

In theory the supreme body of the Comintern is the World Congress of representatives of all sections of the International, *i.e.*, of the various national Communist Parties affiliated to the Comintern. This World Congress, according to the rules of the Comintern, is to be convened once every two years, but it is now (1933) five years since the last World Congress. Between such Congresses, the leading body of the Comintern is the Executive Committee, which has the right to determine the number of representatives of each of the sections at the Congress. The World Congress has power to decide the headquarters of the Executive Committee; hitherto this has always had its seat at Moscow. Discipline in the Communist International is extremely strict, and the decisions of the Executive are obligatory for all the sections and must be promptly carried out. The sections have a right of appeal to the World Congress, but until this has decided the question they must carry out the orders of the Executive. To ensure their obedience, the constitution of the Comintern gives to the Executive the right to send representatives to the various sections. As the Executive is not in constant session, it appoints a "Presidium" as a permanent body to carry out the business of the Executive in the interval between the meetings of the latter; and this Presidium elects the Political Secretariat (the Politbureau), which is empowered to take decisions and acts as the executive organ of the Executive Committee and the Presidium.

Further to secure the domination of the Executive over the sections, there is an International Control Commission, which "investigates matters concerning the unity of the sections and also matters connected with the communist conduct of individual members of the various sections." No elected member of the central committees of the sections may resign his post without the consent of the Executive of Comintern. Individual communists are not allowed to pass from one country to another without the consent of the Central Committee of the section to which they belong.

From this account of the constitution of the Comintern, it will be seen that very great power is vested in the Executive Committee, in the Presidium, and in the Politbureau. According to Mr. Walton Newbold, an ex-member of the Presidium, the Comintern is in point of actual fact completely under the control of the Russian Communist Party, which also effectively controls the Soviet Government. Stalin is the secretary of the Central Committee of this Party, and also a member of the Presidium of the Comintern and a member of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.

The Programme of the Communist International

This is a long document, chiefly consisting in a statement of the doctrines of communism formulated by Marx and Lenin. Capitalism is attacked and its inevitable downfall predicted. Then a glowing account is given of social life under conditions of perfect communism; no more classes, social ownership of the means of production, no more crises or wars, no more State or coercion. "Work instead of being merely a means of livelihood will become a necessity of life." There will be an efficiently-planned system of production, and culture will flourish as never before in history; but religion will have been buried for ever. Then the maxim will hold good: From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs. But before this earthly paradise can be entered, society must first pass through the stage of socialism, in which the State still exists with its laws and coercive powers, as the instrument by which the proletariat exercises its dictatorship. In this transitional period, there is still a distinction between mental and manual labour; and work is rewarded according to the labour expended.

The first step, then, is for the proletariat (which here means the Communist Party) to capture the machinery of the State, and to establish a dictatorship. The Comintern emphatically rejects the idea that this can be done peacefully and by political methods. It can only be done by violence. After the proletariat has established the dictatorship, it is to confiscate all large capitalist undertakings and communication services, as well as the land as soon as that can be done without antagonising the peasantry. Banks are to be nationalised, all State debts repudiated, and a State monopoly of foreign trade, newspapers and book-publishing is to be set up. Further subjects of nationalisation are wholesale and large retail trading enterprises, big house property, big cinema enterprises and theatres. Conditions of social life and labour are to be improved.

From the cultural point of view, all schools and universities are to be taken over by the State. On the question of *religion*, the words of the programme must be quoted:

One of the most important tasks of the cultural revolution is the task of systematically and unswervingly combating religion—the opium of the people. The proletarian government must withdraw all State support from the Church, which is the agency of the former ruling class. . . . The proletarian State, while granting liberty of worship and abolishing the privileged position of the formerly dominant religion, carries on anti-religious propaganda with all the means at its command and reconstructs the whole of its educational work on the basis of scientific materialism.

After an attack on every form of socialism which is not that of the Communist International, the programme outlines the fundamental tasks of commu-

nist strategy and tactics. The Party, it says, is the vanguard of the working class, "a revolutionary organisation bound by an iron discipline." It must set itself to extend its influence over the majority of the members of its own class, including working women and the working youth. To do this, it must secure predominant influence in trade unions, factory councils, co-operative societies, sport organisations, etc.

To work in reactionary trade unions and skilfully to capture them, to win the confidence of the broad masses of the industrially organised workers, and to remove from their posts and replace the reformist leaders, are all important tasks in the preparatory period.

Its influence is also to be extended "over the masses of the urban and rural poor, over the lower strata of the intelligentsia, and over the so-called 'small man,' i.e., the petty-bourgeois strata generally." The tactics to be adopted in the colonies are next considered in the programme, and then a paragraph is given to the discussion of correct communist action "when the revolutionary tide is rising"; at such a period strikes, armed demonstrations and the general strike combined with armed insurrection are to be fostered. When the revolutionary tide is not rising, communist tactics consist in advancing demands which correspond to the everyday needs of the workers. Emphasis is again laid on the importance of action in the trade unions.

The acceptance of these tactics by the British Communist Party will be discussed later. First, let us have a fuller account of conditions under perfect communism, even though Lenin admitted that it might never arrive.

The Communist Economic Ideal

In 1922 the Communist Party of Great Britain published the first edition, and in 1924 the second edition, of a volume which it described as being "a book for all—easy to read; impossible to misinterpret—the very essence of Communist Theory—a world classic." Its title is *The A. B. C. of Communism*; its authors are Bukharin and Preobrazhensky, the translators being Eden and Cedar Paul. In quoting this book, then, one is referring to a document officially recommended by the Communist Party, and not to the writing of someone who is hostile to communism. It is, in reality, an expansion and explanation of the programme of the Russian Communist Party, adopted in 1919.

On the question of production and distribution in the ideal communist society, *The A. B. C. of Communism* has the following remarks:

The basis of communist society must be the social ownership of the means of production and exchange. . . . Society will be transformed into a huge working organisation for co-operative production. . . . We must know in advance how much labour to assign to the various

branches of industry; what products are required and how much of each it is necessary to produce; how and where machines must be provided. . . . Without a plan, without a general directive system, and without careful calculation and book-keeping, there can be no organisation. But in the communist social order there is such a plan. . . . Under communism there will not be permanent managers of factories, nor will there be persons who do one and the same kind of work throughout their lives. . . . Under communism people receive a many-sided culture, and find themselves at home in various branches of production; to-day I work in an administrative capacity, I reckon up how many felt boots or how many French rolls must be produced during the following month: to-morrow I shall be working in a soap factory, next month perhaps in a steam laundry, and the month after in an electric power station.

We are airily assured that "this will be possible when all the members of society have been suitably educated." It will be a remarkable sort of education that enables every man and woman to do everything in turn and nothing long and yet produce enough for everybody's needs to be amply satisfied. Yet the following section of the *A.B.C.* proclaims that everybody's needs *will* be amply satisfied. The products of industry are "neither bought nor sold. They are simply stored in the communal warehouses and are subsequently delivered to those who need them. . . . There will be an ample quantity of all products. . . . and everyone will be able to get just as much as he needs. . . . A person will take from the communal warehouse precisely as much as he needs, no more." The *A.B.C.* turns *aside* for a moment to reject the idea that under communism everyone will have the right to the full product of his labour. Then we come to the question of administration.

In communist society there will be no State. . . . The main direction will be entrusted to various kinds of book-keeping offices or statistical bureaux. There, from day to day, account will be kept of production and all its needs: there also it will be decided whither workers must be sent, whence they must be taken, and how much work there is to be done. And inasmuch as from childhood onwards all will have been accustomed to social labour, and since all will understand that this work is necessary and that life goes easier when everything is done according to a pre-arranged plan and when the social order is like a well-oiled machine, all will work in accordance with the indications of these statistical bureaux. There will be no need for special ministers of State, for police and prisons, for laws and decrees, nothing of the sort. . . . In these statistical bureaux one person will work to-day, another to-morrow. . . . Within a few decades there will be quite a new world with new people and new customs.

We may well believe this prophecy of the results of an attempt to put into practice the extraordinary system just described, but whether it would be a world in which anyone would care to live or even be able to live is another matter.

To criticise these utterly impracticable proposals would be like criticising the fairy tales of Hans Andersen. The reader may be trusted to see for

himself or herself what likelihood there is of efficient production under the administration of statistical bureaux in which one person works to-day and another to-morrow, or of human nature being so sanctified by communism that no one will ever take more than he needs and that everyone will work wherever he is told to go and be so good that there will be no need for laws or police.

Communism and Religion

In the ideal communist society there is no place whatever for religion. No sincere and instructed communist would deny this, and it is perfectly evident from every reference to religion which one meets in communist literature. For example, in the book just quoted, *The A.B.C. of Communism*, the first paragraph of chapter xi is entitled: "Why religion and communism are incompatible," and it continues as follows:

"Religion is the opium of the people," said Karl Marx. It is the task of the Communist Party to make this truth comprehensible to the widest possible circles of the labouring masses. . . . Religion and communism are incompatible, both theoretically and practically. . . . (The theory of historical materialism) has demonstrated that the very idea of God and of supernatural powers arises at a definite stage in human history, and at another definite stage begins to disappear as a childish notion. . . . (Man) controls natural forces not thanks to his faith in God and in divine assistance but in spite of his faith. . . . in practice no less than in theory communism is incompatible with religious faith. . . . In most cases there is an irreconcilable conflict between the principles of communist tactics and the commandments of religion. A communist who rejects the commandments of religion and acts in accordance with the directions of the Party ceases himself to be one of the faithful. On the other hand, one who, while calling himself a communist, continues to cling to his religious faith, one who in the name of religious commandments infringes the prescriptions of the Party, ceases thereby to be a communist.

The *A.B.C.* goes on to say that "the struggle with religion has two sides," the struggle with the Church and the struggle with the religious prejudices of the majority of the working-class. The Church must be entirely separated from the State and its property confiscated; religion must not be taught in the schools and the Church must have no power over education; and in order to prevent children being influenced by the religious teaching they might receive from their parents, communists "must see to it that the school assumes the offensive against religious propaganda in the home, so that from the very outset the children's minds shall be rendered immune to all those religious fairy tales which many grown-ups continue to regard as truth." The conflict with the religious prejudices of the workers is admitted to be much more difficult. We are warned that it "must be conducted with patience and consideration, as well as with energy and persever-

ance. The credulous crowd is extremely sensitive to anything which hurts its feelings. To trust atheism upon the masses . . . would not assist but would hinder the campaign against religion." In other words, communism is definitely at war with religion, but this fact must not be brought forward too openly before the workers. Their religion must be sapped rather than assaulted frontally.

This should be compared with the extract from the programme of the Comintern given on page 5 of this article. It is in full agreement with the teaching of Marx and Engels. Marx wrote:

The people cannot be really happy until it has been deprived of illusory happiness by the abolition of religion.

According to Engels,

In our evolutionary conception of the universe, there is absolutely no room for either a Creator or a Ruler.

Lenin is of course in full accord with all these statements: he writes:

Marxism is materialism. We must fight religion. That is the A. B. C. of all materialism, consequently also of Marxism. We must know *how* to fight religion, and for this purpose we must explain on materialistic lines the origin of faith and religion to the masses. The Marxist must be a materialist—that is, an enemy of religion. Religion is opium for the people. Our programme necessarily includes the propaganda of atheism.

It is sometimes thought that communism merely demands the disestablishment of the Church, and that it is quite content to look upon religion as a private matter. But Lenin himself has written:

To the proletarian Socialist Party religion is not a private matter. The party of the proletariat demands *from the State* the proclamation of religion as a private affair, but does not regard as a private affair the question of the fight against the opium of the people.

Indeed, it is clear that those who consider religion to be a stupefying drug, mere dope for the workers, cannot be content to acquiesce in a situation which permits the workers to believe in religious doctrines if they choose to do so. The logic of their theory compels them to endeavor to expel religion from the hearts of the workers.

The Russian Soviet Constitution (1918) guaranteed freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda. But by an amendment made in 1929 religious propaganda was forbidden. The chief instrument for carrying out anti-religious propaganda is the League of Militant Atheists, a branch of which was established for Great Britain at a meeting held in December 1932 at the office of the communist *Daily Worker*, which publishes anti-religious articles at intervals.

Religion in Russia

In view of the perfectly clear anti-religious statements of communist leaders and the communist press, it is absurd to argue that communism cannot

be essentially anti-religious because some of the churches in Russia still remain open. It must be remembered that the Russian Communist Party as a whole is but an insignificant fraction of the total population of the U.S.S.R. According to the last edition (1930) of the Soviet Union Year Book the Communist Party in the Soviet Republics numbered 1,664,805, while the total population is about 150,000,000. It is the task of the Communist Party to win these millions for communism, and it has the shrewdness to see that it will not succeed in doing so if it begins with an open and violent assault on their traditional religious beliefs. It pursues the policy of penetration by anti-religious propaganda and irreligious education. Its propaganda is of the crudest description; so crude, indeed, that some have thought communism to be hostile only to the semi-pagan superstitions of the backward races and ignorant peasants of the U.S.S.R. But, crude though it is, it is directed on principle *against every form of religion*, as the quotations already given make abundantly clear. As to education, no religious education is permitted in any State, public or private educational institution where general educational subjects are taught; and there is strong propaganda by the League of Militant Atheists in favour of positive anti-religious training in the schools. It takes to itself the words of Pius XI:

We see to-day what was never before seen in history, the satanical banners of war against God and religion brazenly unfurled to the winds.

Just before quoting these words, Yaroslavsky, in the pamphlet already referred to, says:

The new Five-Year Plan will destroy more thoroughly the remnants of religious views among the masses. If at the present time a minority in the Union adheres to the atheist outlook, during the second Five-Year Plan it will be possible and necessary to bring about an even more profound change in this respect. . . In this period religion must die out of the minds of the millions much more quickly and thoroughly.

Officially the open attack on religion by the Russian communists has taken the form of nationalising all church-buildings and other property belonging to ecclesiastical and religious associations, and of depriving these associations of any legal recognition. Ecclesiastical property has passed under the control of the local soviets, which, if they wish, may grant the free use of the churches and their contents to a group of not fewer than twenty citizens belonging to the religious body which previously owned these churches. Chapels in private houses, prisons, hospitals and welfare institutions are not permitted. Monasteries and convents are nationalised, and put to such uses (farms, schools, sanatoria, etc.) as the local soviet decides. The workers previously employed in them may be organised into "artels" to carry on the cultivation of the property, but priests, monks and nuns are not permitted to enter the

"artels." Moreover, priests and monks are deprived of the franchise by the Soviet Constitution, and no members of the clergy may exercise any function whatever in schools. It is expressly declared that no ecclesiastical hierarchy has any jurisdiction even over the faithful. An official circular of 1922 forbade the teaching of religion, even in private houses, to anyone under eighteen: this was slightly relaxed in 1924 by a circular permitting parents to teach religion to their children if both parents agree.

It will be seen that this legislation is quite in the spirit of *The A.B.C. of Communism*. It does not forbid the people to practise religion; that would be useless and tactless; it would offend "the religious prejudices" of the masses; it would make martyrs. Rather it aims at stifling religion and breaking down its organisation.

A further attempt at stifling religion is a decree of 1925 dealing with the libraries of the workers' clubs, travelling libraries and small libraries in towns and villages. It orders that the section on religion must contain solely anti-religious literature; and that books on religious education, church schools, etc., and books "which confound science with religious inventions and speak of the wisdom of the Creator" must be removed. By thus preventing the masses from having access to any literature defending religion the communists make it possible for the workers to believe such ridiculous statements as those of Yaroslavsky: "Nobody has ever succeeded in proving the existence of a God. Religion exists where knowledge is lacking. Professors who declare that they believe in God are hypocrites and base deceivers. If any of them truly and sincerely believe in God, they are not really men of science, although many may even be renowned as the authors of valuable scientific works."

Communism and the Family

In 1920 the Socialist Information and Research Bureau of Glasgow published an English translation of the code of laws of the Russian Soviet Republic, with an introduction by the Chief Editor of the Board of Law, A. G. Hoichbarg. His opinion of the Code is expressed in these words:

Each day of the existence of such laws shatters (as much as the law can achieve this) the idea of the individual marriage, of the legalised binding together of men and women. . . . (The Code) does not proclaim the aim of marriage to be the birth of children. The basis of the family is not marriage as it was before, but reality of descent.

The meaning of the last sentence is that in the eyes of the law the illegitimate child has the same status as the legitimate.

With regard to divorce, "a marriage may be dissolved during the lifetime of the parties either by mutual consent or at the desire of either of them. No grounds for divorce are required." (*Soviet*

Union Year Book.) Abortion is legal in Russia, provided that it is performed in Government hospitals or clinics.

The more the institution of the family is weakened, the more necessary it becomes for the State to undertake the care of the children. Hoichbarg tells us:

If amongst us the Socialist State were already in being we should be bound to change the paternal care of children and replace it by the social care of them. But we are living in a period of transition.

The A.B.C. of Communism says expressly that from the communist point of view parents have no right to educate their children. This right belongs to society, which may entrust the education of children to their parents, but may refuse to do anything of the kind. The social education of children, the *A.B.C.* tells us, "has enormous economic advantages. Hundreds of thousands, millions of mothers will thereby be freed for productive work and self-culture. They will be freed from the soul-destroying routine of housework, and from the endless round of petty duties which are involved in the education of children in their own home." It should be observed that the communist ideal is that women should work side by side with men in the factories, etc., but *The Soviet Year Book* complains that "the prejudices against women's work in general have by no means been overcome" in Russia.

In 1924 a delegation from the British trade unions which had visited Russia to investigate conditions there, and which was by no means unfriendly to what it saw, reported on this question of family life:

This new outlook on the social and family side of a nation's life, bound up as it is with the whole economic system, is undoubtedly tending to destroy what is known in this country as family life. . . . Whether the new Code is likely to prove a national evil or not must be left to individual judgment and to future results.

This verdict is certainly more hesitating than it need be. A code of laws which is intended to shatter the Christian institution of marriage, which makes it almost as easy to separate from one's wife or husband as from some chance travelling companion, which deliberately undermines family life, is simply a national scourge, and it will eventually ruin any nation foolish enough to adopt it or weak enough to be compelled to accept it.

Conclusion

That no loyal Catholic may join the Communist Party or sympathise with its programme has been made perfectly clear by Pope Pius XI. After the quotations from his encyclicals given on an earlier page, it is hardly necessary to say that the papal condemnation of communism in no way involves approval of the existing capitalist régime. In his encyclical on *The Social Order*, Pius XI has de-

nounced social injustice, exploitation of the workers, concentration of industrial and financial power in the hands of a few, conscienceless speculation, the abuses of the joint-stock system, the harshness and cruelty of modern economic life. He has demanded for the workers their fair share of the world's wealth, a wage at least enough to provide an ample sufficiency on a family-basis, and the opportunity to become property-owners instead of proletarians. He has urged a reconstitution of the entire economic

order, on lines which he describes, to secure the recognition of the rights and dignity of labour. He has laid the foundations of this social programme on the only firm basis, the supremacy of the moral law of God. And he gravely condemns "those who neglect to remove or modify such conditions as exasperate the minds of the people, and so prepare the way for the overthrow and ruin of the social order."

A Note on the Third International

The Third (Communist) International (*Komintern*), was established in 1919 with headquarters in Moscow, in which fifty-eight Communist parties from as many states or colonies are represented. The object of the Third International, according to its constitution, is to struggle with all means at its disposal, including violence, "for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and the establishment of an international Soviet republic, as a transitional stage toward complete annihilation of the state." The Third International regards the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only institution capable of liberating mankind "from the horrors of capitalism," recognizes the Soviet government as "the historic form" of this dictatorship, and undertakes to support every Soviet republic, "wherever established." The program adopted at the close of the Sixth Congress of the Third International in 1928 declared that Communist aims "can be accomplished only through an overthrow by force of the whole existing social order."

The supreme organ of authority in the Third International, according to its constitution, is the World Congress—which last met in 1928—in which the All-Union Russian Communist party, despite its minority position, exercises a predominant influence. This congress delegates its powers to an Executive Committee of fifty-nine members, which it elects. Of the nine members of the *Polit-bureau*, two—Stalin, Secretary-General of the Communist party, and Molotov, president of the Union Council of People's Commissars—are members of the Executive Committee of The Third International, while others served as delegates to the Sixth World Congress of the *Komintern*. The decisions of the Executive Committee are binding on all "sections" of the Third International, including the All-Union Communist party, as well as on individual Communists throughout the world.

There have been socialists and socialist parties before, syndicalists of the Sorel school, anarchists led by Bakunin and Kropotkin, Illuminati and Babeufs, Proudhonists and every variety of miscel-

laneous rebel against government since the world began. There was an active First International from 1864 to The Hague Congress of 1872, after which it expired peacefully in New York, whither Karl Marx had transferred it for decent interment. There was a Second International, organized in 1889, which disbanded itself automatically at the outbreak of the World War. But revolutionary organizations hitherto had been debating societies with no sanction or effective weapon beyond propaganda, platonic alliances, cryptic confederacies, and occasional assassination. On November 7, 1917, however, the Communist leaders found themselves, for the first time, in physical possession of one of the major governments of Europe, whose entire apparatus, foreign and domestic, became straight-way the instrument for the execution of Marxian Communism and supplied the formidable element of practicality so conspicuously absent from pre-war internationalism.

The domestic instrument contrived to ensure the permanency of Marxian Communism on Russian soil is called the Soviet government which becomes thereby, in Mr. Zinoviev's celebrated phrase, a sort of fifth wheel. The external apparatus for the conquest of the non-Communist world is called the Third International. Both are the direct creations and active agents of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party. The former, i. e., the Soviet Government, is as it were, a dress sword in a silken scabbard for the adornment of Soviet Ambassadors at diplomatic soirées; the second, never sheathed, is a naked broadsword aimed at the vitals of all non-Communist governments. It is a longer blade for the chastisement of the bourgeoisie, its hilt at Moscow, its tip everywhere. These two agencies of world revolution are, in the words of Ramsay MacDonald, "organically connected." The nations of the world have refused to accept the stale pretext that the Third International is a private organization over which the Soviet Government has no control. It is not a private organization and never was.

The Theory and Objective of Bolshevism

By WALTER LEGGE, T.O.D.
From Catholic Truth Society, London.

"Today atheism has already spread through large masses of the people: well organized, it works its way even into elementary schools; it appears in theatres; in order to spread, it makes use of its own cinema films, of the gramophone and the radio; with its own printing-presses, it produces booklets in every language; it promotes special exhibitions and public parades; it has formed its own political parties and its own economic and military system. This organized and militant atheism works untiringly by means of its agitators; with conferences and lectures, with every means of propaganda, secret and open, among all classes, in every street, in every hall; it secures for this nefarious activity the moral support of its own universities, and holds fast the unwary with the mighty bond of its organizing power."—Pope Pius XI in the Encyclical "The Troubles of Our Time" (Caritate Christi Compulsi).

IT IS NOT the object of this pamphlet to deal with the political economics of Soviet Russia, but to try to throw light on the origins and the most profound of the forces which have produced the phenomenon of Bolshevism. In viewing the progress of Russia since 1917 it is not always easy to separate the economic from the spiritual side; they are intimately bound up, according to the Soviet chiefs themselves; it is a matter of perceiving which is the more combative at any moment with regard to the world at large.

Certainly in its origins Bolshevism was a spiritual thing; for the original claim of the heresy was to provide mankind with happiness, here and now, on the material plane, not only by a system of economic and political communism, but by the suppression of those individual longings for higher things, both here and hereafter, which are of the essence of the Faith; from these, Lenin taught, came all the sorrows of humanity, and therefore the source of them must be eliminated from the mind of man. That source is the individual soul, and for it there had to be substituted the mass-mind, the conglomerate instinct of the race, which, it is maintained, is the sole source of all human motive and action. This is plainly the negation of the rock-doctrine of the Faith that Man is made in God's image, and an assertion that in order to attain happiness mankind must be placed on the level of the brute-creation, with merely animal desires, capable of immediate satisfaction, and bereft of that quality which differentiates men from beasts, the desire for something generically, not specifically, distinct from the existence of matter, viz. the life of the Spirit, of

the World to come. It was this prospect of an endless monotony with no incentive to rise above the dead level, which always kept Professor Huxley from renouncing the idea of a Supreme Creator, and which drove Huysmans, Zola's favourite pupil, into the monastery to wrestle for three days and nights with the personal forces of evil, and to emerge a man and not a machine; this prospect of a black and aimless nothingness, endless and meaningless through the æons, the darkness of the bottomless pit; perpetual motion with no hope of eternal rest.

For this theory, based on the endless and objectless movement in matter of Democritus, is a contradiction in essence of the very nature of humanity, which cannot stand still (an endless movement on a dead level is standing still), but must rise or fall. Humanity has risen above the brutes and rises farther every day; let us say, to satisfy the enemy, it becomes more unlike them every year; even on the material plane; for the difference in locomotion between the anthropoid ape and the airman is not a specific one, and such differences are accentuated in every age; the baboons whom M. Barbusse in his *Russie* calls our four-handed fellow-citizens, are still cracking nuts with their teeth, while we have invented the nutcracker. Humanity is not static; but Bolshevism says it is; maintains that we are merely animal, and proposes to compel all the race to remain so: only by producing the herd-instinct, the mass-mind, can you destroy the sense of individuality and so, to attain success, the men of Moscow must degrade men to the level of the brutes.

How completely successful the Bolsheviks have been in this matter is testified to by the special

correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in Russia, on 3rd December, 1932:—

"There is one article of the creed which has been brought to swift and complete fruition—the elimination of the individual and the apotheosis of the mass."

"In the summer the worker and his family will go to the Park of Culture and Rest, there to dance, play round games, listen to loud-speakers, shoot or shy at effigies of European statesmen, or examine models of machines."

These effigies are anything from twelve to twenty feet high, and are fully described by R. Fülöp-Miller in the *Mind and Face of Bolshevism*, published in the English translation as long ago as 1926, with accompanying illustrations. Pope Pius XI was exhibited in effigy for six weeks in December, 1930-January, 1931.

Two things stand out as utterly irreconcilable with this theory and practice.

First, the Family, which, as a distinct and independent entity, destroys the flat level and also the universal authority of the Communist State.

And second, the idea of a Personal First Cause; for such an idea postulates ideology, that upward striving which is the negation of a static existence of material contentment; and also individuality, for a Personal Creator obviously indicates personality in those made in His Image.

Pokrovski, an accredited Bolshevik philosopher, wrote, "Personality is only the instrument with which history works. Perhaps the time will come when these instruments will be artificially constructed, as to-day we make an electrical accumulator."

And in these pregnant words are summed up the methods by which Bolshevism proposes to create the mass-mind and to supplant the ideology which it detests. For their avowed methods are (a) organization, (b) centralization, (c) mechanization.

From this admitted system flow certain consequences; firstly, of course, a rigid and hopeless determinism; man is only part of a relentless machine from which he cannot escape, having no mind or will of his own; and we are back again at the deadly creed of Calvin, accepted and proclaimed anew by the physicists, with its resultant portents of suppression, pre—or post—natally, of the unfit, its complacent contemplation of slavery, and its assumption of a body of the elect into which no one can enter except the predestined; for, in practice, the small Communist party, 3,000,000 out of 160,000,000 souls, is the elect in Russia; and there has never been, in the history of mankind, so rigid, so narrow, or so tyrannical an oligarchy. And, secondly, there results the philosophy of Lenin which asserted the identity, not the union of opposites, e. g., the positive and negative poles in electricity; the association

and disassociation of atoms; and the class-war. For you cannot admit differentiations, otherwise you are back on the road to individualities. And the determinism is implicit; for where there is no difference, there is no escape. He did not, apparently, consider contradictories; he would not, of course, admit good or evil; but darkness is the absolute negation or absence of light, and identity is not possible in such a case.

Often, in studying the Bolshevik creed, it is interesting to observe how the beliefs and manifestations of the Catholic faith are parodied; for what is the mass-mind but a parody of the Mystical Body of the Church? And what is this insistence on the identity of opposites but a caricature of the joy of the Saints in their sufferings, going even to the desire and the prayer for greater sufferings still?

Indeed, the avowed vision of the physicists is the most perfect parody imaginable of the Mystical Body. This is it: (*Morning Post*, December 10th, 1932) "Mankind will become one gigantic animal, in which every individual will be a cell with a specific function. Love will no longer exist because no two persons will be more to one another than any other two. There will be no longer any thoughts of personal immortality; the survival of the racial Leviathan through the ages will be sufficient for its ephemeral parts. Poetry, of course, will disappear, since its appeal is to men, not to Man."

The tragedy which is being enacted under our eyes in Russia is accentuated by the knowledge that, except by the Catholic Faith, no individual, no race, can escape from their origins, and that, once those origins are acts and conditions freely made and chosen, escape becomes harder still, and it is all important throughout the study of Bolshevism to bear in mind, above all, its origins, in order to mark their results in practice.

The Bolshevik Creed

So then, it being an essential of the doctrine that all individuality must go, and the ideas of the Family and of Almighty God being implicitly condemned, it is best to let the professors of the creed speak for themselves.

First, as to the family. Madame Smidivich, a recognised Bolshevik authoress, writes as follows in *Pravda*:—

"Our young people have certain principles. All these are governed by the belief that the nearer you approach to extreme and, as it were *animal primitiveness*, the more communistic you are. Every Komsomoletz, even every member of a labour faculty, whose aim is to raise the intelligence of the working class, every student, man or girl, considers it axiomatic that in affairs of love they should impose the least possible restraint on themselves. A second main proposition; every Komsomoltsa, every Rabfaka, on whom the choice of

one of these young men of strong principles (!) has fallen, must obey unquestioningly."¹

"Love of parents is more often than not injurious, and the child brought up in the family is in most cases anti-social." (Lilina, ex-directress of public instruction in U.S.S.R. *From the Young Guard, The Life of the Komsomol*, Collections of Articles, *Lenin and Youth*. State Editions U.S.S.R., 1927.)

Lunacharsky, Commissar for Education, writing in *Ogovek*, a Moscow Review (quoted in *Daily Mail*, 10th November, 1930), says:—"One may say that the family is the perennial source of individual and traditional ideas: its destruction, therefore, is in full harmony with the aim of Communism, which is the creation of collectivist men and women."

Implicit, of course, in such principles is the practice of abortion, permitted, if not actually encouraged by the State, with the following results:

Leningrad: Birth rate, 1926: 13.4 per 1,000
" " 1931: 6.9 " "
Abortions: 1927: 21.5 (35,523)
" " 1929: 36.6 (67,000)

At the great industrial centre of Magnitogorsk, in the workmen's dwellings, the men and women live all together and have free access to each other. In the hotels, everywhere, the sexes are herded together promiscuously in the same rooms.²

Mr. F. Yerbury at the General Meeting of the Architectural Association, 31st October, 1932, said:—

"There are also clinics" (attached to the factories) "in some cases for birth-control; and for the other side of the question as well, which in Russia is legal and carried out under State control."

And with regard to divorce:—

"I will pass quickly to another" (subject) "by showing you the picture of a pleasant young lady sitting in the office of Marriages and Divorces in Moscow. This young girl, as you will see, is very attractive and had, on the day I took this photograph, married six couples and divorced six others."³

If any proof were wanted of the contention that both the aim and the achievement of Bolshevism is to reduce men to the level of the brutes, without even the responsibility of rearing or guarding their broods, the words of Madame Smidivich would confirm the argument both as to origins and as to intentions.

As to religion again, let us see the origins and later the results:—

Lenin (in 1909): "To draw a hard and fast line between the theoretical propagation of Atheism, between breaking down the religious beliefs of certain sections of the proletariat and the effect, the development, the general implications of the class-struggle of these sections, is to reason non-dialectically; to transform a variable, relative boundary into an absolute one." . . .

"Religion is one of the forms of spiritual oppression

which everywhere weigh upon the masses."

"Every kind of religious organization is an instrument of that bourgeois reaction whose aim is to defend the exploitation (of the workers)."

"The fight against religion . . . must be linked up with the concrete practical class-movement."

"The Marxist must fight against religion not by abstract propaganda but concretely on the basis of the class struggle actually proceeding."

"It is essential to give the masses the greatest variety of atheist propaganda material . . . every way of approach to them must be tried in order to interest them, to rouse them from their religious slumber, to shake them up by the most varied ways and means."

"All religious ideas are an unspeakable abomination."

(*Lenin on Religion*, Volume VII of the Little Lenin Library, 1932.)

Lunacharsky, Commissar of Public Education, wrote to the atheist popular journal *Bezbojnik*: "With all my heart I wish the *Bezbojnik* every success in its warfare against the revolting spectre of God, who throughout the whole history has caused such diabolic evil to mankind."

Yaroslavsky, Head of the League of the Godless: "Every Communist, every class-conscious worker and peasant must be able to explain why a Communist cannot support religion; why Communists fight against religion." (*Religion in the U.S.S.R.*, p. 17.) "It is impossible to be a Communist and Leninist and at the same time to go to Church, listen to the lies of the priests, cross oneself, etc." (*Ibid*, p. 19.)

In 1923, during the first persecution of the Catholic Church, Krylenko, the Government prosecutor, said, at the trial of Archbishop Cieplak and Monsignor Budkiewicz, "I spit on your religion, as I do on all religions; on Orthodox, Jewish, Mohammedan and the rest." He asked the accused, "Will you stop teaching the Christian Religion?" Answer: "We cannot; it is the law of God." Krylenko: "That law does not exist in Soviet Territory."

Krylenko is now Commissar for Justice.

No Catholic who studies the words and actions of the Bolsheviks can have any doubt as to the origin and the intention of their system. And indeed the Catholic press is quite plain on the subject; but, lest there should be any such doubt in any Catholic mind, let us consider two documents out of the many. First, the recent pastoral (of October, 1932) of the Scottish Hierarchy, which says:—

"The preternatural genius displayed in organising this anti-God campaign makes it clear that the directing force is no mere human intellect, whilst the ferocious cruelty and satanic hate which finds place in the execution of their schemes points clearly to 'our wrestling' being; as St. Paul says, 'not against flesh and blood but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the high places.'"

"The savage endeavours of the revolutionaries to destroy the altar, to banish the Holy Eucharist, to silence the confessional, to quench the voice of prayer, leave no doubt as to the arms of which the demons inspiring them stand most in dread."

And second, the Holy Father's Encyclical *Caritate Christi Compulsi*. In this document, Pius XI refers

¹ *The Anti-God Front of Bolshevism*, by Rev. G. J. MacGillivray. C.T.S., p. 17, C.T.S. 2d.

² *Daily Mail*, 10th November, 1930.

³ *Architectural Association Journal*: November, 1932.

no less than eight times, not to some vague "age-spirit," some misguided theory called into being by admitted sufferings and oppression, some revolt of the human soul against the Mammon-worship of our times, but to the personal powers of evil as the origin of this campaign against Almighty God.

These are the expressions he uses:—

"The diabolical programme of godless education"; "the Satanical banners of war against God"; "diabolic reasoning"; the "dark powers"; "the spirit of evil"; "Satanic hatred of religion"; "the unchained powers of darkness"; "the sowers of tares."

The World-Attack

Seeing then, that we are engaged in combat against the personal forces of the Darkness, we must expect to find evidences of a thought-out plot, not confined to one sphere, but ranging throughout all the faculties of the mind and the soul, in all the races of the earth, and if we consider what has taken place, I think it will be hard to deny this thesis.

I may refer shortly in passing to such portents of recent years as the advocacy of birth-control—at its best, a debased form of hedonism—of the lethal chamber, its logical corollary;⁴ of the apologetics for materialism in the Press and on the Wireless; of suggestive posters and films; and of the growth of spiritism, a subtle form of the materialistic spirit which craves for the sensible materialisations of the séances, desiring thereby to draw back the spirits of the departed to this earthly plane, instead of striving itself to rise to the plane of the spirit. Be it remembered that spiritism was rampant among the upper class in Russia in the pre-revolution period (*v. Rasputin*, by Aaron Simanovitch, his secretary).

But those are obvious attacks on the Christian Faith and morality; the world-attack has been more subtle and much more difficult to comprehend and to combat. Seeing that the aim of Bolshevik philosophy is to suppress all idea of the individual human soul and to substitute that of the mass-mind for it, it was to be expected that the main attack would be a cultural one, and so it has undoubtedly been.

Let us see, then, how the three great attacks on

⁴ At a meeting on November 3rd of "The World League for Sexual Reform . . . one of the speakers confessed that at a birth-control meeting ten years ago . . . abortion was definitely in the minds of the speakers as the next step in reform. . . . The example of Bolshevik Russia was held up for imitation. . . . On October 16th last year, the president of the Society of Medical Officers of Health informed the world that he had already drafted a bill to make voluntary euthanasia legal. And other medical men have advocated, without rebuke, the killing of idiots." (*Month*, December, 1932.)

⁵ *What are Saints*, by C. C. Martindale, S.J., p. 98.

⁶ *v. Le Vatican*, *Trône du Monde*, ad locum.

⁷ This can be found in de Tocqueville and Acton and in *La Révolution Française*, by Pierre Gaxotte.

⁸ *Le Vatican*, *Trône du Monde*, p. 341.

the Catholic Church have all been heralded and prepared by a cultural movement.

First, the Reformation was preceded and facilitated by the Renaissance. The Renaissance, born, to a certain extent, of the dislike of ugliness⁵ and a return on that account to a pagan humanism, most assuredly weakened the late mediæval conscience as to spiritual things; and this dislike of ugliness coupled with its concomitant, the unwillingness to face the unsightliness of human suffering and disease, undoubtedly debilitated that spirit of charity and self-sacrifice which is of the essence of the Catholic Faith. Metaphysically, these intellectual portents were the parents of the creed of Calvinism with its doctrine of the few elect as against the mass of the lost, and the resultant phenomena of slavery, and of neglect of all except the chosen.

Culturally, among the positive results of the Renaissance were the substitution of the naked goddesses of Greece for the Mother of God as the inspiration of statuary and painting, and the disappearance of Latin as a living language from Europe. The latter was accomplished through the break-up of Christendom—most noticeably in England; the former stares one in the face in every gallery of Europe; nor can it seriously be maintained that in a society which had been steeped for centuries in Aristotle and Plato, and had seen the steady advance in the technique of the arts, the particular manifestations of pagan nudism and modernist theology were necessities for further progress still.

The next great attack was, of course, that of the French Revolution, the onrush of Free Thought engineered in the Masonic Lodges and particularly directed against the Society of Jesus⁶: and this, too, was notoriously the child of that libertine society of the salons of which Voltaire and Rousseau were the patronal deities: its spiritual origin was not to be found solely in the revolt in the soul of an oppressed people, but among a sect of free-thinkers bent on the destruction of the Catholic Faith.⁷

Nor was this cultural attack confined to Paris; for, concomitantly with the thinly-veiled paganism of the salons, came another outburst of pagan humanism in Rome itself under the auspices of Cardinal Albani.⁸

Now then, let us see how the Cultural attack has been, and is being worked, this third time.

It began some years before the war in the painting art. There is no need to labour the question of the root-difference between the styles which preceded the methods of Chelsea and the Rive Gauche and those which sprang up in those quarters. It is only necessary to recall the titles of Futurism, Cubism, Dadaism and the exaggerated and debased Nudism of the present day, in order to mark the gulf which separates the moderns even from their immediate predecessors. This thesis stands; the

Bolsheviks admit it. "While Futurism appeared to be the most appropriate expression of the Destructive, it was believed that the most fitting style for the new 'rational organisation of matter' was to be found in Cubism. . . . The negations of Futurism, completed by the abstract tendency of Cubism, resulted in that 'abstract deformation' which was to be the basis and the chief watchword of the new art."⁹

"Futurism, which preached eternal dynamics, the continual movement of all things, thus long ago anticipated the upheaval; just as cubism, by a systematic deforming of things, tried to lay bare the social structure of society."¹⁰

In a private letter the other day, from a very competent critic, occurs this passage:—

"It happens that from Rembrandt to Cézanne, painters were mainly interested in the way light fell on objects, whereas since Cézanne they have been mainly interested in the shapes of the objects themselves. Like all artistic pioneers they have endeavoured to assist their interest by a crude and exaggerated technique, whose weakness you are, of course, free to expose. You might even say, though I think myself that it would be sophistry, that this shift of interest in evidence of a more material outlook."

You will notice that this concentration on technique, the twin-sister of mechanization, one of the Bolshevik Pantheon, is post-reformation.

And Father Bede Jarrett, in *Blackfriars*,¹¹ ascribed the failure of the Pre-Raphaelite revival in this country to the lack of spirit behind it. The combined forces of neo-paganism and exaggerated stress on technique have been, and are, one of the means to the despiritualization of mankind used by the powers of darkness. And, indeed, one has only to look at Bolshevik art to know how successfully the degradation is being carried out.

According to the *Catholic Times* of 11th November, 1932, Dean Inge is reported to have said: "As for the deliberate ugliness of much modern art, I can only regard it as a disease. . . . The whole movement is absurd, or would be, if it were not connected with the horrors of Bolshevik materialism."

His Holiness, the Pope, is the final witness: in opening the new Vatican Gallery on 27th October, 1932, he said:—

"The defamation of the so-called 'modern' sacred art, unworthy of the name, must," he said, "be energetically condemned. It is not sacred, because the sacred themes more often than not are treated in caricature or even with downright profanity. It is not art because one cannot talk of art when its most vital elements and especially the drawing are missing."

⁹ *Mind and Face of Bolshevism*. R. Fülöp-Miller, p. 94.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹¹ 1932, p. 216.

¹² *Morning Post*, 28th October, 1932.

¹³ *Russie*, by H. Barbusse, and the *Moscow Daily News*, a paper published for English workmen in Moscow, of 5th November, 1932.

¹⁴ *Mind and Face of Bolshevism*, c. VI.

"It is said that these new forms of 'seditious' art are demanded by the development of modern taste, but one glance at the masterpiece of a gallery such as this demonstrates that real art can develop itself to all tastes and progress without ceasing to be art."¹²

If it requires some argument to prove the contention in the case of painting, there is surely no need to labour the danger to craftsmanship, to the struggle for self-realisation and expression of the individual genius, in the immense importance attached to the cinema by the Bolsheviks and their unconscious dupes. For the cinema is mass-production by the camera as against the careful art of the painter wielding his brush; it is not the individual craftsman expressing his soul by the handling of his implements, but the management of mobs by highly-trained capitalists (it costs £16,000 to produce a film in England), under the registering eye of the dead and soulless camera. The Bolsheviks attach enormous importance to the cinema, and are immensely proud of their admitted triumphs in this field.¹³

Incidentally, it is exceedingly useful to them for propaganda purposes; since it appeals to the mass-man, as no picture-gallery ever can or has done.

Nor is the danger of the cinema confined to this one form of mechanizing and so degrading life. It has largely supplanted the theatre. Whatever faults the dramatic art may have or have had, it is basically a living art, an appeal made by the work of an individual genius or craftsman through individual artists to individual people: the very emotionalism of the theatre is its justification as against the cinema; for it proves its call to the souls of the audience by the souls of the actors and the soul of the author, implemented by the fact that actors and audience are in personal and not mechanical touch.

Still, the theatre could not be neglected by the conspirators, and as painting had to be "deformed," so had the Dramatic Art. It was done in Russia by the mechanization of the stage itself, and also by the mingling of actors and audience on and off the stage, so as to bring the drama out of the atmosphere of romance and into the world of the mass-man and thus to drown the individuality of actor or author in the soulless mob.¹⁴

Again, as in the case of the cinema, the Bolsheviks lay great stress on the theatre as a means of propaganda.

It cannot, moreover, be denied that the character of the drama in England had changed, not for the better, morally, in the years before the advent of the problem-play, which is sufficient proof of how the conspirators had begun to salt the ground in those careless years by a gradual lowering of the moral standard of the stage; and the conspiracy has proceeded with unvarying success until the present day.

Still, the stage has never been mechanized: no civilised community-as yet, at any rate, would stand

the substitution of marionettes, however skilfully handled, for the art of Coquelin.

But, mania as it may seem, the thing was attempted in music and poetry.

First, poetry.

"From the behaviour of a dog, which had acid dropped into its mouth . . . they drew a number of conclusions about the connection between external irritations and their alleged 'soul reactions,' and finally arrived at the position that every spiritual act, however apparently spontaneous, is nothing but the effect of a sense-stimulus, and will occur every time in the same way in the same conditions with an exactness which may be calculated beforehand.

"In the Briusov Institute receipts for poems are prepared . . . the children will be taught all the knacks and tricks, the mastery of which formerly brought undeserved fame to a handful of selected individuals." Maiakovski, a leading Soviet poet, "finally arrived at the point of carrying on poetry purely as a trade" . . . established a "word-workshop" and "was in a position to supply every revolutionary . . . with any quantity of poetry desired."¹⁵

Madness? Yes, the madness of the mechanized mass-man driven to his logical conclusion and showing the determination, in face of the most obvious of all intellectual facts, the existence of genius, to push the theory of mechanization to any and all lengths.

Music, naturally, was to be mechanized.

"Even the formal elements, like rhythm and harmony, are, according to Bukharin, also bound up with social life . . . 'Rhythm,' he says, 'is developed under the influence of social conditions, and above all, of material labour.'"

"The same idea also ruled the true proletarian music; it, too, emphasized the rhythms which corresponded to the universal and impersonal elements of humanity.

"Therefore, the Bolsheviks proceeded to construct special noise-instruments, to form noise-orchestras.

"The factory whistle was" (in Gastev's and Maiakovski's opinion) "best adapted to be the new and predominant musical instrument . . . experiments with factory whistle symphonies were tried in Petersburg." Also in Moscow. Also at Baku, "with the foghorns of the whole Caspian Fleet . . . a machine-gun section, etc., etc."¹⁶

Now one can understand the spirit at the back of Bolshevik music as you may hear it distributed by the B.B.C.

But there is a deeper thing in it than that, recalled by the phrase "noise-orchestra"; for this soulless and utterly materialistic music, destined to attune the mind of man to the idea and the hope of a mechanized world, has had its way prepared for it by the braying bestiality and discordances of the jazz-orchestras, whose origin is in the debased and animal music of Central Africa; whose object in the hands of the powers of the dark, was, most assuredly, to draw men away from the music of genius and of the soul, and to replace Mozart and Verdi, or, at low-

est, Strauss, by the negroid discords of the night-clubs and restaurants: to drag men down from their upward path to the flat animalism of Bolshevism.

There is no need to describe at length the architectural style of the Soviet. One word is enough: it is the style of the factory. Inevitably so: for mass-production is their ideal and their inspiration. In their Language Guide for the use of Tourists, sandwiched among photographs of Tiflis, the Kremlin, the beautiful Crimean coast, and the Caucasus, are two entitled, "The New Factories belching forth smoke," and "On, on to industrialisation!" And on the cover of *Religion in the U.S.S.R.*, by Yaroslavsky, Head of the League of the Godless, is a drawing of a great factory in full blast and, in the pit below, into which they have been flung to make way for the mechanized life, figures of Angels and Saints.

On the other hand, Mr. Knapp-Fisher, in his presidential address to the Architectural Association on 28th November, in which he attacked modern architectural illiteracy and avarice, said, "From the Marble Arch to the Bank there are few buildings which are not frankly discreditable; most of our streets are a disgrace; Tottenham Court Road is a devil's travesty of architecture. . . ."

The French, who are concerned largely with causes, whereas the English are principally interested in effects, have, in alarm, started a Society for the preservation of ancient monuments; not primarily as in England because they did not want to see the beautiful works of a gracious past being pulled down to be replaced by more profitable bungalows or emporia, but because the effect of modern architecture, inspired by the Moscow spirit, is debasing to the spirit of man. M. Georges Pradelle, President of the Society, sums it up in the phrase that there is no love or self-sacrifice in Bolshevik architecture. This dreary and minatory style is spreading itself all over England: you can see it at St. James's Park Station, at Olympia in the new building, and best, or worst of all, at Stratford-on-Avon in the new Shakespeare theatre there. Whether you agree with M. Pradelle or not, none can conceivably deny that that erection is at complete and most jarring variance with the Tudor buildings, the glorious church, the winding Avon; and, in spirit, its gross monotony, its desperate platitude, make mockery of the triumphant, tragic, motley, melodious or laughing pageant which is known to the wide world as "Shakespeare."

All mechanization, particularly that of the cinema and the radio, tends to prevent men thinking for themselves, and so renders them an easier prey to the champions of the soulless. For reading makes men think, and reason; and so at all costs, reading has to be combated in the masses; thus reducing them to the level of recipient machines instead of self-dependent men.

¹⁵ *Mind and Face of Bolshevism*, c. VIII.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, c. IX.

So Francis Toye, the musical critic, in the *Morning Post*, 2nd March, 1933:—

"You cannot learn even to appreciate an art without taking trouble. . . .

"Laziness and passivity, those are the devils conjured up by the wireless, and they are very dangerous because very insidious. How dangerous and how insidious may be seen by the fact that they appear to have seduced even an eminent musical critic, who wrote the other day as if 'waste of time' at a public concert would no longer be tolerated now that one could listen in to precisely the music one wanted."

"Religious Faith and the idea of God must be replaced by science and the idea of the machine." So speaks the *Teachers' International* Vol. 2, p. 36. (Organ of the Educational Workers' League, formed in 1922 for spreading Communism among School Teachers); (So, for instance, the bricklayer is in a higher "category" for food and lodging than the architect, in Soviet Russia).

But the subtlest and most formidable attack of all, probably, on the cultural side, and with that very object, mechanization, in view, is the attack on the classics and, incidentally, on all ideological or individualist philosophy. For that reason the study of Plato and Kant, among others, is absolutely forbidden in the universities of Russia.

Father Martindale, S.J., writing in the *Month* in June, 1932, drew attention to this attack, giving as the reason for it, that classics do not fit men for the mechanized and business life. Lenin himself said that the whole of the older sort of education was useless for the new, i.e., the mechanized man¹⁷; and this tendency, viz., to dispense with the past history of one's country, was noticed in the French *Écoles Laïques* by a correspondent of the *Ami du Peuple* last summer (1932).

¹⁷ The subtlety of the attack by the Dark Powers; their choice of the mechanized as their weapons and the avowed objective of their onset in this matter receive ominous comment from Mr. H. A. Siepmann, Talks Director of the B.B.C. H. A. S. loq. to *Morning Post* interviewer (*Morning Post* 17th February, 1933): "After the War," he said, "adult education acquired a new meaning. It could no longer be an effort to take to working class people the standards of Oxford and Cambridge. The basis of the tutorial class method became too narrow for the standards of the present age. Broadcasting must cater for modern democracy as a whole. In broadcasting to schools we meet with the difficulties of an elaborate machine, a traditional conception of education which dies hard, and the slowness of teachers to appreciate the possibilities of the new method."

¹⁸ "A central bureau of Godless Esperantists was set up at the Fourth A.U.—Union Congress of Esperantists; and the Godless Esperantists have established contact with 26 countries." (*Tablet*; p. 104, 28th January, 1933).

"The Soviet police are permanently on the trail of hidden Catholic Mass-books and other Catholic publications, especially those written in Latin, which they consider 'the bitterest foe of Sovietism.'" (Despatch from Basle in *Catholic Times*, 10th February, 1933).

"An address was given over the week-end at the Workers' Esperanto Club by a Red who was not merely a most able exponent of the language, but claimed to be inspired in what he had to say. He said that the objective future of Esperanto was a matter solely for the Reds, there being no other use in fostering the language. The 'neutral' movement was ridiculous." From a letter signed "P.S.S." to the *Patriot* of 9th March, 1933, p. 207.

And an entirely independent confirmation of this view comes, also from France, and also from the *Ami du Peuple*, on 25th August, 1932; (combating a similar attack in France).

"All the most satisfactory medical students in France are found to be those who have learnt classics. They alone seem to be able to coordinate their ideas: because the Roman's ideas were general and of all time. They exalt the spiritual values against the commercial and banking materialism which are ruining us. The thinker and the ploughman have the right to the same respect, it is true; but only a base demagoguery will pretend that they move on the same plane. 'Equality,' said Izoulet, 'is an equal respect for unequal values.'"

To the writer, as to many thinking Frenchmen, the effort to set up Esperanto as the world-language with Latin, the original world-language and the language of the Church ready to hand, is all part of the plot.¹⁸ But for us Catholics, there can be no authority equal to our Holy Father: hear what He says, again in *Caritate Christi Compulsi*:—

"As if human forces, by means of modern mechanical power, could combat the Divine force and introduce a new and better order of things."

The Destruction of Religion

We see plainly, then, that this conspiracy is an attack on the Catholic Faith, engineered by the personal forces of evil, who have been long preparing the ground by insidious assaults on the Catholic culture; no art has been neglected, no means of approach unexplored, no temptation of brain or senses deemed unworthy of experiment.

But now, in the last two years, the mask has been thrown aside, and the true objective is proclaimed in all its nakedness; to wit, the banishment of Almighty God from the souls of men and the destruction of all religion. That was one of the two original objectives indissolubly bound up together, as the Bolshevik Chiefs have proclaimed, the politico-economic aim of material communism, and the obliteration of the individual soul by the abolition of God at the hands of the Powers of the Dark. That objective has now become the primary, if not the only one; and we must therefore study not only the ideal but the methods of Satan's human agents.

As the campaign started in Russia it is best to start there and hear the Bolshevik leaders, always bearing in mind that all movements are necessarily governed by their origins, and that therefore this movement, like all the great spiritual movements of humanity, Christianity, Mohammedanism, the Free-thinking French Revolution, aims at world-conquest for the imposition of its ideals on all men: it is catholic. But, as it is not Catholic, its enemies have got to be exterminated and not converted.

Bolshevism, then, is inevitably a universal and an anti-God theory, to be imposed by force.

Three of its greatest leaders announce this:

(1) Lenin tells us:—

"The dictatorship of the Proletariat is a relentless struggle waged with bloodshed." ("Left Wing Communism.")

(2) Lunarcharski, Commissar for Education:—

"We hate Christianity and Christians; even the best of them must be looked upon as our worst enemies. They preach the love of our neighbours and mercy, which is contrary to our principles. Christian love is an obstacle to the development of the revolution. Down with the love of our neighbours! What we want is hatred. We must learn how to hate, and it is only then that we shall conquer the world."

(3) Zinoviev:—

"We will grapple with the Lord God in due season. We shall vanquish Him in His highest heaven, and wherever He seeks refuge, we shall subdue Him forever."

Nicholas Bukharin stated, what is common form, "Religions and Communism are incompatible in theory and practice." And from the very start, continuously, the practice has been as follows, special attention being concentrated on childhood and youth.

From the beginning, all religious propaganda was forbidden.

The attack on the monastic and conventual institutions was based on the Law which allots eleven and a half square metres of lodging per person. As the monasteries had much more than that, they had to accept additional residents as follows: Monasteries: Prostitutes. Nunneries: Ex-convicts.

And so these institutions, life having become intolerable, and, religiously, impossible, were squeezed out of existence; the buildings being turned into museums or clubs (as e.g., though not a monastic house, the Cathedral of St. Isaac at Leningrad), the exhibits being generally extremely foul.

Education is admittedly and frankly so, anti-God.

There are special chairs for the destruction of the belief in the Old and the New Testaments; all Old Testament characters are represented as monsters, and as regards the New Testament, blasphemies against the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity are taught, and these lessons are reinforced by the foulest caricatures. Eighty pages of anti-God stuff have to be learned each year by the children. Conferences are arranged between the schools, and professors trained at them are sent out to train others.

At the Moscow Conference of directors of infant schools in 1931 it was maintained that to start training the child in blasphemy at two years old was too late; some old woman may by then have taught them to lisp the names of Jesus and Mary: therefore, their first words must be a blasphemy.

The dominant note of the anti-God education is *militancy*. Therefore, twice a month in the schools, the children are examined as to their families. Does your mother pray? Does your father make the sign of the Cross? Are there ikons? Those who denounce their parents acquire merit, and a reign of terror by denunciation is supreme throughout the country. Bonfires of ikons are organised regularly at Easter each year. The most religious person in each family is compelled to throw them on the blaze, making a blasphemous or obscene gesture. They reckon that having once done this, that person will never have the face to talk religion again; and the apostasies in the result have been numerous. Those who refuse are deported by hundreds of thousands to prison camps.

In the anti-God schools, circles are formed under the teachers and reports sent in to headquarters, e.g., "The children propose to organise an anti-God Christmas and to send their parents to work."

Dr. Lodygensky, member of the International Bureau of Geneva against the Third International, reports:

No religious organization may form benefit societies; give aid to its members; form prayer unions; hold religious meetings; organise treats or talks for children; start reading-rooms or libraries or medical institutes.

The village popes have either to abjure and join the Kolkhoz (atheist collective farms) or leave with their families, taking nothing with them. They are not allowed foodcards, and as the prices are prohibitive except at the atheist-Communist Co-operatives, they have to face starvation. They have no right to work or to accommodation of any sort.

These are merely a few facts from a mass of similar evidence, and it must be repeated, the results of the origins of the Communist Creed in Russia itself; but now, obedient to its law of origin, that communism is a world-creed, it is to be extended to every country on earth.

"The anti-religious campaign of the Soviet must not be restricted to Russia; it must be carried on throughout the whole world."¹⁹

Lunarcharski repeats the phrase,²⁰ and Yaroslavsky writes:—

"The programme of our party says:—'An anti-religious centre must be created to assist the Communist parties of all countries to guide this constantly growing movement against religion and the clerk, because this is a part of the class struggle and as such is not only meritorious, but an essential part of the struggle against the capitalist world, part of the struggle for Communism.'"²¹

Miss E. Picton-Turberville writing in the *Star*, 31st August, 1932, said:

"Few, however, can visit Russia and not deplore the anti-religious propaganda and the war psychology evidenced everywhere."

In 1925 the *Bezbojnik* newspaper formed the now

¹⁹ Stephanov: *Aims and Methods of Anti-Religious Propaganda*, published by the Soviet Government, 1923, quoted, *Anti-God Front of Bolshevism*, C.T.S., p. 27.

²⁰ *Anti-God Front of Bolshevism*, p. 28.

²¹ *Religion in the U.S.S.R.* (Yaroslavsky), published by Modern Books, Ltd., p. 10.

famous "Komsomol," the League of the Godless, whose title was changed in 1930 to the League of the Militant Godless; its tenets are hatred of Christ's Person, and representation of Him as a false philosopher, an impostor and an evil-liver. There is no need to labour this: no Bolshevik will deny it.

Since 1932 the main attack by the Soviet on our Christian Faith and civilization has ceased to be primarily economic and political and has become religious. These are the names of some of the *International Atheistic Movements* under the direction of the Communist International:—

Germany: Verband Proletarischer Freidenker Deutschlands (about 150,000 members).

U.S.S.R.: Soiuz Voinstvuyutchnikh Bezbojnikov (The Union of the Militant Godless) (about 5,000,000 members).

Austria: Oesterreichischer Freidenkerbund-Opposition and Proletarische Freidenker Jugend Oesterreichs.

Czechoslovakia: Svaz Proletarskich Bezvercu (about 30,000 members).

Belgium: Ligue Matérialiste de Belgique.

Holland: Proletarischen Frijdenkerclub in Nederland.

Switzerland: Proletarischer Freidenkerbund der Schweiz.

France: Union Fédérale des Libre-Penseurs Révolutionnaires de France.

Poland: Stowarzyszenie Wolnomyslicielei Polskich.

Greece: Avant-Garde.

Mexico: Liga Anticlerical Revolutionaria.

Spain: Liga Anticlerical Revolutionaria.

The headquarters of the Union is in Berlin. The organ of the German citizens of the U.S.S.R. *Neuland* (published in Kharkov) defines the aims of this Godless International as follows:—"It is necessary to inspire the masses with the ideals of a fight against religion in all its forms and manifestations, and to carry on this fight by joint efforts of the proletarian godless of *all lands* and in close connection with the general revolutionary struggle of the proletariat."

Methods of Propaganda

Let us now see how the propaganda is worked in various countries:—

(1) FRANCE:

Extract from a letter of "L'Union Fédérale des Libre-Penseurs Révolutionnaires de France"
(Translated: Quoted by Dr. Lodygensky).

"We must change the name of our federal union. We are enemies of free thought: we are not, therefore, free thinkers. We are enemies of free thought because, in the struggle against religion on the class-war front,

we cannot tolerate any of those beliefs which, during the Capitalist period of history, are political weapons in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Liberty of conscience is equivalent to the anti-revolutionary victory of the bourgeoisie. . . . Let us glory in being atheists!"

The French are a logical race: unfortunately the English are not.

(2) AUSTRIA:

"In issuing an appeal for assistance to set up a counter-move to the 'Friends of Youth' the late Cardinal Piffl, Archbishop of Vienna, pointed out that this movement is backed by the Social Democratic Party, which is 90 per cent. Bolshevik. It is, therefore, inspired from Moscow. Its slogan is: 'To make the children Liberals who will pay no heed to the law of God.' It is worthy of note how determined is the Bolshevik to capture youth. In every country where he obtains power he seeks to banish religion from the schools."²²

(3) BRAZIL:

A start has already been made in Brazil "and has led to a reaction among the negroes, who have formed a counter-movement known as the 'Frente Negra Brasileira,' with the object of defending the religious and patriotic ideals of the negro races against the subversive principles which are being spread by the emissaries of Moscow."²³

(4) MEXICO:

In the State of Vera Cruz a circular was sent out in 1932 by the Director General of Schools giving detailed instructions for the destruction of all religion by anti-God instruction in the schools; quoting the Russian Revolution as the model.²⁴

(5) ECUADOR, AND SOUTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA:

Evidence can be supplied to show the methods used there. Students are sought for among the natives for a two-years' course in Moscow, all expenses paid, who, on their return are bound by contract for a further term of years to spread anti-God propaganda among their fellows. This is confirmed by Father Martindale, S.J., at Liverpool on 20th November, 1932.

"Natives have progressed in two directions. They are determined to come into possession of everything the white man possesses. They will take the education that a white man can give, and the Governments are now wakening up and becoming zealous in all conscience to provide the native with all they can. The European Government does not profess to give a Christian education or to teach God or eternity to those to whom they teach hygiene.

"The native, in the un-Christian way, as he has been educated, says: 'I am now as good as he is, as good as they are. I don't want anything that comes from America or the white world, and I will not accept the white religions.'

"To these people come Atheism and Communism. There is not a part of Africa or the Far East where there are no paid agitators, trained sometimes at home, sometimes in America, or Russia, teaching the natives an atheistic independence.

²² *Catholic Times*, February 5th, 1932.

²³ *Morning Post*, Summer, 1932.

²⁴ Quoted verbatim in the *Tablet* November 26th, 1932.

"I am good enough, I do not need a God, and I will not have white men's religion.' Thus, what we have to do is a great deal, and it must be done quickly. If we have one picture more than another which appeals more to the natives it is the Sacred Heart. They respond to the Heart of Christ."

(6) PROPAGANDA IN MERCHANT-VESSELS:

Anti-God agents get hold of sailors from a ship in harbour, never nationals of the country itself, and enlist them as anti-God agents, to act in every port at which they touch on their voyage, and to render reports on the results of their propaganda; and on each other.

(7) IRELAND:

"One of the Irish Priests in China describes how in the hands of the Reds he saw an atlas on which were underlined in red ink the places throughout the world where the Communists, directed from Russia, have their operating centres, amongst them being Dublin, Belfast, and Cork."²⁵

ENGLAND:

In England the Anti-God Campaign is in charge of the *Daily Worker*, which is here quoted:

(1) "The provisional committee of the British Section of the Proletarian Freethinkers' International (otherwise the International League of Militant Atheists) is hoping to have ready for issue shortly a manifesto which will state its aims and objects and call for adherents."

"Our work, as we conceive it, is two-fold. Aiming always at our governing end—the maximum attainable extension and militant intensification of the revolutionary proletarian world struggle, we concern ourselves:—

- (a) With propagating, popularising, and vindicating the scientific materialism of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, which is the only sound theoretical basis upon which such a struggle can be developed: and
- (b) With breaking down practically all the religious obstacles to the acceptance of that materialism and the prosecution of that struggle."²⁶

(2) "On one point the Provisional Committee has made up its mind—the question of the name of the organisation. Argy-barging as between 'Atheist' and 'Materialist,' we came back to sanity with refreshing suddenness when Comrade J. Rushton, of Manchester, asked, 'Why not the "League of the Godless," like our Russian comrades?'

"Why not, indeed! The 'League of the Godless' it shall be! Unless, of course, the inaugural conference decides otherwise."²⁷

(3) "The Revolution was made in Russia not because of, but in spite of, religion by the revolutionary working-class, led by the Communist Bolsheviks (atheists to a man). It is precisely in Russia, and to safeguard and complete the Revolution, that it has been necessary to organise a militant 'League of the Godless' in order to break down the active and passive resistance offered by religion and the Churches."²⁸

The *Sunday Dispatch* had given warning of what

²⁵ Father W. B. MacFeeley, B.D., O.P., lecturing at Derry. *Catholic Times*, 11th November, 1932.

²⁶ July 20th, 1932.

²⁷ August 5th, 1932.

²⁸ August 8th, 1932.

was coming in its issue of the 17th July, 1932:—

"Moscow, Saturday.

Moscow's 'League of the Godless' has decided to launch a large scale atheistic propaganda campaign in Great Britain.

Leaders of the British Communist movement are to be entrusted with the task. Detailed instructions have been given to them of the way in which they are to proceed.

A National Atheist Congress will shortly be called in London.

SHOALS OF LITERATURE

Large quantities of anti-religious literature are being prepared. Some of it will be printed in Moscow. Some in England.

Ridicule will be poured on religious beliefs. Specially virulent attacks will be made on those trade union leaders and politicians who are also local preachers and prominent members of the Nonconformist churches.

Special attack is to be reserved for the Roman Catholic Church, with malignant criticisms directed at his Holiness the Pope.

A department of the Communist movement's headquarters has been deputed in London to work on the religious front."

And in the pastoral of the Scottish Hierarchy of October, 1932, the warning is confirmed for the faithful:—

"Two or three months ago an intensive campaign was launched in this country, conducted by the ablest, the most experienced and the most skilful organisers of Moscow, in the endeavour to introduce into Britain the same shocking uprising against all religion and against God which has been all too successful in so many other places. Already we are seeing the effects of this skilfully conducted effort."

The principal agent for distributing anti-God literature in this country is "Modern Books Ltd.," 53, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1.; its best-known production is *Religion in the U.S.S.R.*, by F. Yaroslavsky, leader of the League of the Godless; price sixpence.

There are numerous organizations infected with the anti-God spirit, of which the most dangerous and possibly the most fanatical is the Educational Workers' League, the English Section of the Educational Workers' International, largely composed of Communist Teachers' Organizations. The views of this body may be gathered from these quotations from their accredited organ, *The Teachers' International*:

"Religion is the weapon of oppression, employed by the more reactionary of the governing classes." (Vol. 2, p. 33.)

"Religious Faith and the idea of God must be replaced by science and the idea of the machine." (p. 36.)

There is also the Workers' Theatre Movement ("The Red Stage").

The plays produced by this Society are often blasphemous in the extreme, and are being incessantly produced in London and the provinces. A typical example is *Lady Houston Talks to God*, copies of which can be obtained from the Christian Protest Movement, 41, St. Stephen's House, Embankment, Westminster, S.W.1., if anyone wishes to have this description of the activities of this body confirmed.

The Duty of Catholics

Therefore it is useless, and worse, to fold the hands and go to sleep in the comfortable self-assurance that though the Catholic Faith, in particular, and all beliefs in God in general, may be attacked and ridiculed in Russia and elsewhere, such things cannot happen in England; because they are happening, and the same campaign as is being waged in other countries, is being waged here, and will be waged with ever-increasing violence, and it behooves every Catholic to be on his or her guard and to be up and doing to combat and defeat this "Satanic" hatred of religion "preached" by the "unchained powers of darkness."

And let us not be deceived: we Catholics are the main object of the attack; it is our Faith and our Church which it is desired at all costs to destroy; for if they go, all else goes, and well the Great Enemy of Mankind knows it.

Indeed, it is quite plain, when we consider the origins and nature of this bestial thing, that the Catholic Church must be the principal enemy.

For Bolshevism is, firstly, a class and not a national spirit; it proclaims itself the champion of the proletariat, and preaches the class war. Secondly, it is a creed; all competent observers have pointed this out; a creed held devoutly and fanatically by its devotees; not a mere academic theory, but an enthusiasm and a faith to be preached and promulgated, as we have seen, without cessation and without mercy. Thirdly, it is a spirit, contradiction in terms though this may sound; but the doctrine of the mass-mind is obviously the doctrine of a spirit, degraded and degrading though it be. Fourthly, it is a tyranny: the oligarchy of three millions ruling one hundred and sixty millions by force, mass-exile and execution, proudly proclaims itself as such under the title of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Fifthly, it has a definite philosophy, that of Democritus and the mass-mind.

Therefore, to combat this thing we must find an institution which embodies the essential characteristics underlying those four qualities, some body which is:

1. Supernational.
2. A creed devoutly held till the death.
3. A world-spirit filling the mind of a body corporate as well as of each of its members.
4. An authority of world-wide extent.
5. A definite metaphysic (in this case, Thomism).

There is only one entity which fulfils all these conditions, the Catholic Church. And the enemy knows this and proclaim it: anyone who has ever studied their blasphemous or semi-blasphemous cartoons and posters knows for whom the post of honour is

always reserved—for the Pope and the priests of the Catholic Church.

In the *Sunday Dispatch* cable already quoted, come the words, "Special attack is to be reserved for the Roman Catholic Church, with malignant criticisms levelled at his Holiness the Pope."

And the position is frankly stated by Mr. Middleton Murry who, in his brochure, *The Necessity of Communism*, says:—

"Marxian Communism is a veritable religion—the absolute antithesis and counterpart of Catholicism."

"the coming struggle is between Communism and Catholicism": for the reason that in this battle against Communism no other religion really counts because no other religion has the necessary unity of belief and action, or the requisite obedience to legitimate authority. Only a disciplined army can stand up against a disciplined army."

And Yaroslavsky in *Religion in the U.S.S.R.*, p. 33, says:—

"The most powerful religious organisation in the world is the Roman Catholic Church, with the Pope of Rome at its head."

So, then, we Catholics can most plainly see what the battle is, and who are the protagonists; and though the ultimate issue is not, cannot be, in doubt, it depends on us, aided by those unseen Powers of the Light, under great Michael the Archangel, to whom the Church prays at every hour of the day throughout the world for the salvation of Russia, to win the battle against the Powers of the Dark; for no other body can do so. And our Holy Father's words in *Caritate Christi Compulsi* most surely cheer us with the certainty of the ultimate triumph, and spur us to put the armies of Hell to flight. Let us end with them:—

"We know very well, Venerable Brethren, that vain are all these efforts, and that in the hour He has established, God will arise, and His enemies shall be scattered. We know that 'the gates of hell shall not prevail.' We know that our Divine Redeemer, as was foretold of Him, shall 'strike the earth with the rod of His mouth and with the breath of His lips He shall slay the wicked,' and for those unhappy beings terrible above all things will be the hour in which they fall 'into the hands of the living God.' And this unshaken confidence in the final triumph of God and the Church is, through the infinite goodness of the Lord, strengthened for us every day by the consoling sight of the generous enthusiasm for God on the part of countless souls in every quarter of the world and in all classes of society."

"The divine Heart of Jesus cannot but be moved at the prayers and sacrifices of His Church, and He will finally say to His Spouse, weeping at His feet under the weight of so many griefs and woes, 'Great is thy faith; be it done unto thee as thou wilt.'"

The "General Line" of Soviet Philosophy

This essay on the foundations and content of Soviet philosophy is by one of the most informed and thoughtful of Russian writers. Nicholas Alexandrovich Berdyaev, an Orthodox Russian now residing in Paris, was once professor of philosophy in the University of Moscow but was exiled by the Bolsheviks for defending religion. Not a Roman Catholic, Berdyaev has in recent years published some of the most trenchant criticisms of Bolshevism. The following excerpt from "The End of Our Time" is reproduced by courtesy of Sheed and Ward, New York.

I

THERE is in process of formation in Soviet Russia a synthetic philosophical system which represents Marx-Leninism as enriched by experience gained during the constructive period of the revolution, revolutionary experience being the source of philosophical knowledge. Such research is given a definite place in the work of building up the socialist-soviet state. Capital importance is accorded to the elaboration of an integral philosophy; for several years there has been a college given over to the study of Hegel's Logic, a thing that would be difficult to establish among the *émigrés*. The "general line" of philosophy emerged from discussions which went on over a period of five years. The least political divergences within the Communist Party (to the "right," of Bukharin, to the "left," of Trotsky) are attributed to philosophical error. The young Soviet philosophers protest energetically against any tendency to bring philosophy and the natural sciences together as a heterodox deviation. The enslavement of thought is unprecedented and stupefying, but it is a bondage that is freely accepted and liked. These young people are sincerely taken with the idea: they are believers, men who know not doubt. Such dogmatism, such a total absence of scepticism, are well calculated to surprise the Westerner; Christians themselves have not so unquestioning a faith, probably because of the importance of spiritual freedom to Christianity. The young Soviet students of philosophy are better equipped than one would expect, they have precise, but one-sided, knowledge and their general level is pretty high; they are well armed to defend their faith and to attack their opponent's. They have a "doctrine of the schools" and in that respect resemble Catholics. But there are no great names, no outstanding figures, no personalities; their thought is purely anonymous. The word of Dostoevsky comes to mind, "We shall smother all geniuses in their cradles."

Philosophical work is done by the nameless "collective" which elaborates the "general line" under higher direction: a real five-year plan in the sector of philosophy. In order that this plan may be fulfilled, theory has to be closely associated with practice, with the work of the economic building-up of

Socialism. Soviet philosophy is not truly philosophy at all. Philosophy is essentially problematical and supposes liberty of thought; its discovery of truth is the term of a series of constructive operations of knowledge. Soviet philosophy is a theology: it has its revelation, its holy books, its ecclesiastical authority, its official teachers; it supposes the existence of one orthodoxy and innumerable heresies. Marx-Leninism has been transformed into a scholasticism *sui generis*, and the defence of orthodoxy, that is, of eternal truth in its integrity, and the distinguishing of heresies has attained a degree of refinement difficult for the uninitiated to imagine. The one end of all this speculation is the establishment of the "general line" of Marx-Leninism. In Soviet Russia philosophical discussion is not an untrammelled search for truth, it does not at all recall the Platonic dialogues, it is not a battleground of different opinions from which truth may emerge: it consists in convicting of heresy and excommunicating heretics.

Everyone engaged in this work lives in fear, not knowing what will be the heresies of to-morrow. Most of the old Marxists have been excommunicated: Plekhanov, Bogdanov, Lunatcharsky, Deborin, Bukharin, Trotsky, Riazanov; Kautsky and Kunov among the Westerners. The orthodox line comprises Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. You are lost if you put in this line of Marxist tradition any of those who, like Plekhanov or Kautsky, formerly had authority but have since been revealed as traitors. It is an absolute obligation to look on Lenin as a great philosopher who did much to advance Marxism. The directions of the Communist Party are the basis of philosophical work, and this work is carried on in an atmosphere of continual nervousness of falling into heresy; the workers hold themselves in readiness to abandon their views at any moment if they are not in accordance with the "general line." Any right to individual critical reflection is refused, only collective criticism is possible. Obviously we are here dealing with a strictly conservative mentality, a mentality in which there is implicit consent to authority and to direction from above, wherein creative initiative and liberty of thought are rejected, and which affirms the im-

mutability of the foundations on which its thought is based.

There is less concern to establish the dogmas of Marxist truth than to excommunicate those who stray from it. It does not occur naturally to the mind of anybody that Marxism and Leninism can themselves be objects of examination and investigation, that they can be called in question: this attitude is called "restatement" and is severely punished. One of the participants in these philosophical beginnings wrote a book on the origins of religion, and he found himself taken to task because he said nothing of Lenin's views on totemism and magic. He answered in despair that he did not know what to say, because there is not a line about those subjects in Lenin's works! It was complained against another author that he had mentioned the names of bourgeois men of learning in his text, but those of Marx and Engels only in the footnotes! When accused of the "mechanist" heresy, he pleaded in vain that he could not change his convictions in a day, asked for time to reconsider them, declared that as a loyal man he had already recanted everything. . .

The arguments in these debates can always be reduced to citations from the holy scriptures; Lenin *dixit*, it is written in Marx. . . . And yet Lenin himself wrote: "We do not want anything to be accepted with the eyes shut, to be an article of faith. Everyone should keep his head tight on his own shoulders, and think out and verify everything for himself." Lenin himself thought as an individual and not as a part of the "collectivity" which he created, but these words of his have not taken root. On the other hand, a large part of Russia has adopted his coarseness of language, as when he said that "Dialectical materialism throws the idealist swine who defend God on to the dung-heap." He professed a deep respect for Hegel and read his *Logic* assiduously, making marginal notes which have been published as a manual of philosophy. When Hegel defends the idea of God, Lenin writes, "You felt pity for this poor little godlet, you idealist swine." That is the style of nearly all the anti-religious propagandist writing. In practice, collectivist thought, which alone can exercise authority, makes use of informers, spies, and secret reports: philosophy is a monopoly of the government, intellectual speculation is an administrative department. Lenin supplies the norms not only of philosophy, but even of physics; the inspired chief of the proletariat must be an inspired theorist as well. The whole of philosophical speculation from end to end consists only of appreciation and estimation in terms of orthodoxy and heresy, so that there can be no free flow of thought. Any "restatement" of Marxism constitutes a "modernist" attitude that is even more hateful to Marx-Leninists than theological Modernism is to Catholics. What is even more remarkable is that Stalin, who is far from a genius

and knows nothing of philosophy, is no less a source of philosophical direction. Thus the system of controlled work when applied to philosophy leads to a denial of all individuality of thought; young thinkers are continually required to abandon all personal views and to repudiate any work which shows the slightest deviation from the received teaching. At a meeting of the Communist Academy, Deborin underwent a harassing cross-examination from Yaroslavsky that exactly resembled an interrogatory by the G.P.U. Deborin is a disciple of Plekhanov, a former menshevist, and he once wrote some articles that could be interpreted unfavorably to Lenin and Bolshevism. The unfortunate man acknowledged his guilt, but that was not enough; he had again to stigmatize his past opinions, to conduct a severe self-criticism, to metaphorically flog himself in public. He at first tried to justify himself, alleging that what he had written in 1906-7 was concerned not with Lenin, but with Bogdanov, but everyone knew that he was on the edge of a precipice.

Creative philosophical thought cannot flourish in such an environment, and it amply accounts for the shuffling, the endless repetition, the monotony, the limitedness of Soviet philosophy, its petty sophistries, the reciprocal accusations and denunciations, the fundamental necessity of lying; neither talent nor genius can make any headway. The type of thought in process of elaboration is capable of an advanced degree of development, but its intellectual level could hardly be lower. It must be added, with sadness, that all this is a horrid caricature of Christianity. Christianity was the first system in history to appreciate all thought from the angle of orthodoxy or of heresy, that is, to give an example of communal thought. The authentic spirit of community, brotherhood (*sobornost*), is not collectivity, but too often in the course of history it has been supplanted by this collectivity which is so hostile to personality.

The most original and, in its way, the strongest characteristic of Marx-Leninist philosophy is the idea of an indissoluble union between theory and practice; for it, the unforgivable sin is a break between philosophy and politics, between speculation and social building-up. Purely speculative thought is therefore labelled bourgeois. Knowledge comes from action; abstract theorizing comes from the chasm which separates intellectual from physical work; that chasm must be filled up. This Marxist formula approximates to the central idea of N. F. Fedorov, for whom all evil sprang from the break between pure reason and practical reason and the consequent formation of a caste of "learned men"; he looked for the coming into the world of a knowledge that would transform and better it, that would be a "common work." This idea seems to me very Russian and very Christian. But Marx-Lenin-

ism has deprived it of its right nature and made it materialist, and therein, as in many other matters, Communism is a caricature of the truth. For Communism, knowledge of nature is made real by the act of production, which is only to say again that knowledge is entirely subordinate to economic development as to the one only reality. It is the business of philosophy to be the power which directs revolutionary action and the organization of political warfare. Thus spake Lenin. The problem of Truth is a practical problem. Truth is revealed in deeds. From thence is drawn the conclusion that science and philosophy must be at the service of the Communist Party and cannot do anything else. Scientific impartiality is an impossibility, any attempt at objectiveness is indicative of bourgeois leanings. We shall see later on what difficulties this creates for the establishing of a criterion of truth. Marx-Leninists are bound to be ignorant of real philosophy, it just eludes them; only its most popularized forms are amenable to their critique. The reason lies in their mistaken notion of the "practical," that is, really, of life, of being, a notion which falsifies the scale of values, for in the end everything depends on how we order values. A "class-science" is nonsense, gnoseologically and logically. But it cannot be disputed that perversions of science can and do flourish; there is no such thing as "class-truth," but there is class error. There is some truth—not "class-truth," but plain truth—in certain Marxist considerations, but the Marx-Leninists evolve a sectarian conception of science which comes into collision with real objective science. In physics they even get to the stage where Lenin is put up against Einstein and Planck—which is really quite amusing.

The most noticeable thing is the importance accorded to the existence of a philosophical system. Politics are dependent on philosophic concepts. For example, the task is set to examine how the unorthodoxy of Trotsky is determined by his erroneous philosophy. Now Trotsky has never written anything about philosophy and has not got any. In the same way it is averred that the deviation towards "the right" of Bukharin, who was denounced as a partizan of the *kulaks*,* is due to his "mechanicist" materialism. Here Marx-Leninist materialism is clearly veering towards idealism, since it is deemed that consciousness determines being; it is difficult to suppose that Bukharin has *kulak* interests or Trotsky capitalist interests, therefore their deviation can have their origin only in a warped consciousness. We shall see, indeed, that the materialism of Russian communists often verges on idealism.

The Marx-Leninist idea of a "class-philosophy" denies in principle the existence of a universal human nature; it is a negation of the humanism

founded on a recognition of the basis common to the whole of mankind, on the idea of universality. There is no possibility of discussion with Marx-Leninists; the arguer is relegated to the different type of consciousness of another "class" by the mere fact of daring to raise objections. Proletarian consciousness supposes the previous initiation into a mystery that is unseen and unintelligible from outside; "class-truth" is a sectarian truth which is made clear only to those who have made their way into the circle of initiates. There, a universalist line of argument has no meaning; facts themselves have no meaning, for they depend on consciousness, the proletarian consciousness, which with its philosophy and science, its morality and politics, calls for a definitive break with the past and its universalism and turns to the creation of a new world and a new man. Truth was revealed for the first time to this consciousness, revealed absolutely and finally; the Marxist revelation is as unique and complete as the Hegelian system was to its author. Progress is perfected; henceforward there can be no argument about its fundamental principles. It is an idea that leads to complete rationalization of the world, to a denial of all mystery, and it is a hatred of and opposition to mystery that provide the motive *pathos* of Marxism; mystery is only the result of anarchy in economic production, it is determined by a contingency. A close study of contemporary Soviet philosophy and anti-religious literature shows plainly that for the first time in the world's history an atheist sect has attained power, and it wields it over vast areas and huge numbers of people. The philosophy of this sect serves an end of a religious kind, its soul is anti-religious propaganda. This definition of Communism as an atheist sect must be distinguished from a judgment of it on its purely economic side. This socio-religious sect may have some truth and justice in it, but they are changed and perverted; and this change and perversion are the effect of the fixed idea which recognizes one sole value alone, disassociated from all other values and made into an absolute, which is equivalent to a transmutation of the relative into the absolute.

Two attitudes, two completely divergent positions, are possible for man, and he finds the face of everything different accordingly as he chooses the one or the other. He can if he will put himself in the presence of God and the mystery of being. Then he has a clear conscience and a clean heart, revelation and intuition are vouchsafed to him, the true primordial creative spirit appears, he reaches to the very source of all.

On the other hand, man can if he will put himself only in the presence of other men and with society. Then his conscience and his heart cannot be pure, revealed truth is changed, religion is reduced to a social fact, the light of intuition goes out and the glow of creation is cooled, and falsehood comes into

* *Kulak*—one of the class of "wealthy" peasants as compared with "poor" or "middling" peasants.—TR.

its own, it is recognized as socially useful and even indispensable; man, whether conservative or revolutionary, is valued only in relation to the daily social routine and he can no longer attain to the ultimate source; even the voice of God can be heard only as an echo from the reality of society. This is not to say that man is not called to live in society and that he ought not to live socially, but that his social relations should be governed by a spirit turned towards the source of Being, and not *vice versa*.

Very well. Then it must be clearly stated that the Marx-Leninist never puts himself in the presence of God and the mystery of being but always in the presence of others and of society, in practice the Central Committee of the Communist Party. That is why he knows no revelations and has no intuitions. His heart and consciousness are completely circumscribed by the social creature, by other men. His philosophical speculation ignores the irrational and cannot even formulate the problem it presents. This orientation exclusively towards man in society and estrangement from the First Cause produce charlatanism—which can be perfectly sincere and loyal in individuals—in more or less all parties, schools, and sects. It provides a psychological problem of very great interest. In the Marx-Leninist philosophy this charlatanism, honest and even capable of self-sacrifice, is carried to its perfection; it is become a sacred duty. But freedom can come only from submission to God and to the mystery of being.

II

The “general line” of Marx-Leninist philosophy which the “collective” of young Red philosophers is engaged in elaborating represents the true and authentic dialectical materialism: *dialectical*, not any other form of materialism. It is stimulated by a bitter contest with two divergencies, mechanistic materialism (Bukharin and the scientists, Timiriachev and several others) and dialectical idealism (Deborin with his disciple Karev and others).

The representatives of the “general line” use the prescriptions laid down by Stalin for the offensive on the philosophical front. He decreed, in effect, that Deborin’s philosophy was nothing else than a menshevik idealism. The “general line” has to reveal and hold the philosophy of collectivism, it must be entirely purged of all personal opinions and inclinations, for in it, the Communist Party thinks, the proletariat itself becomes conscious. Nevertheless, the worst danger is seen in the mechanistic materialism which is associated with the right-wing trend in the Party and the *kulak* ideology. This type of materialism is looked on as foreign to Marxism and scorned as being merely popular; it is an obstacle to anti-religious propaganda because it can give no satisfaction to those who abandon religion; and it is accused of a wrong conception of matter, which it debases and from which it takes away the

inherent life and movement; mechanicism sees the cause of movement in shocks from without and tries to explain everything by the action of environment. It is not at all “activist”; in sociology it accords a determining importance to “productive forces,” that is to say, to economic phenomena disassociated from living creatures, so reducing the activity of “productive relations,” namely, the strife of classes; this leads to what Soviet terminology calls “self-derivation.” By this must be understood the thesis that everything produces itself in consequence of an objective economic process independent of the class-war. In the light of this necessarily deterministic interpretation of Marxism the dictation of the proletariat and of the Communist Party becomes impossible and meaningless. Now Soviet philosophy is essentially “activist” and wants above all to justify this dictation and its possibility even in a country with a rural economy, with an out-of-date capitalism, small proletariat, and overwhelming predominance of the peasant class. Then there is the question of which is the determining influence: productive forces or productive relations, the mechanism of the objective process of economic production or the dialectic of the active class-war with its limitless revolutionary will? This question has acquired a capital importance; it sums up the opposition between a mechanically passive conception and a dialectically active conception of matter, of the source of being. The question is equally pertinent to anti-religious propaganda: will religious beliefs disappear by the way of “self-derivation” or as the result of an intensive war against them? The theory of reflexes is unfavourable to all “activism,” trying to explain everything by passive reaction to environment, and that is why the “general line” opposes it and resolutely attacks Pavlov and Bekhterev. The reflex theorists do not admit any difference between man and the lower animals and deny the autonomous nature of the psyche—surely a strange matter of complaint in the mouth of Marx-Leninists who still call themselves materialists!

The following example may explain the meaning of this strong opposition to “mechanicism,” with its theory of environment and self-derivation. There is a strike of coal-miners in England. The reflex theorists explain the outbreak of this strike by the reaction of the workers to the acts of the government, its failure by the operation of natural laws, the condition of its social environment. No, say the Marx-Leninists, the failure of this strike is due to the treachery and cowardice of the English socialists. A purely moral explanation. This example is very significant. The “general line” will not admit any explanation by a simple reference to natural laws, to the objective course that events take; the reason for everything must be looked for in man, in class activity, in revolutionary or counter-revolutionary

operations. Strictly speaking there are no immutable natural laws, for they can all be overcome and invalidated by man's social activity. Hence their open dislike of all naturalism in sociology, for it involves the admission of passivity, the denial of activity to individuals, classes, social groups, and parties; mechanism and naturalism are not able to justify activity in man—social man, of course (no other exists for the Marx-Leninists). Therefore the objectively scientific side of Marxism, which bourgeois professors are pleased to put to the fore and Peter Struve expounded so clearly, gives place to "class-mysticism," a mysticism of action exempt from all limits. Social man is not just an extension and development of the world of living creatures as the mechanists and naturalists claim, he is infinitely more. Darwinism, which is held of obligation in biology, is expressly condemned in sociology.

The mechanists are continually being reproached for not understanding quality; only the representatives of dialectic can do that. Dialectical materialism does not confound the psychical with the physical as mechanism does; its formula is: Psychical phenomena are as the inner surface of physiological processes; the unity of psychical and physical does not entail their identity. But that is not materialism at all, it is a psycho-physical parallelism. We are faced with the invariable weakness of materialism; it is not able to define itself, and in its efforts to do so it generally slips into some heterogeneity which is not materialism at all. The fact of the matter is that nobody knows what pure materialism is, least of all the materialists themselves. The Marx-Leninists revolt against the gross version of Büchner and Moleschott, for whom the brain secretes thought as the liver does bile. This sort of materialism arose by force of the popularized science which denied philosophy and its autonomy. The Marx-Leninists want to be philosophers and they uphold the rights of philosophy against the mechanists and the absolute primacy of the natural sciences. What then is the weakness and defect of mechanism in their eyes?

The answer is that the mechanists deny dialectic, they do not consider matter from the dialectical angle, their matter is inert, dead; they do not know its great mystery, autodynamism (spontaneous movement). Dialectic is a philosophy, not a science, and philosophy has its own definition of matter distinct from that given by physics. Mechanism cannot recognize autodynamism in material nature, or it regards it as immutable and eternal—the view of the eighteenth-century French materialists. Mechanism does not see the contradiction inherent in matter and the autodynamism that springs from it, and it is for precisely that reason that it is not dialectical. Bukharin, in fact, has no idea of dialectic and recognizes only an antagonism. Yet according

to the mechanist theory it is impossible to resolve internal antinomies without the aid of dialectic; that must also be an authentic philosophy of the active struggle. Mechanistic materialism is the heir of the bourgeois philosophy of the "Enlightenment," it dates from before the days of Hegel-Marxist dialectic, and that is why it leaves the "general line" of Soviet philosophy on one side, it lacks its object. Mechanism in sociology belongs to naturalism and biologism, theories that are expressly condemned; everything is determined by harmony or disharmony with environment. But that leads to the hateful theory of "self-derivation." From the mechanist point of view one cannot conceive the emergence of a new society, because that can be brought about only by vigorous class-warfare. Revolutions are made, they do not make themselves; they require human freedom for conflict and action, as well as natural necessity. They may be called a philosophy of "social titanism," and it does not fit in at all with naturalistic determinism. Marx-Leninists also protest against the reduction from the complex to the simple which they impute to bourgeois science. The danger envisaged in the mechanist deviation is simply the substitution of the mechanical for the dialectical, mechanics becoming the fundamental science from which all derives, which means the denial of autodynamism and therefore of action and struggle. According to the mechanists the classes are passive in relation to productive forces, to the objective and regular economic process, and therefore Bukharin was openly on the side of the *kulaks*. Trotsky admits hardly any possibility of communism in an isolated country and for him peasants are the enemy class to the revolution. All that is quite logical and coherent.

Mach's theory also is firmly rejected, but opposition to it is not regarded as particularly important because the Communist Party at the moment includes partisans neither of him nor of Avenarius with whose philosophy and Marxism Bogdanov and Lunatcharsky attempted a conciliation when they belonged to the bolshevist group in the Party. Bogdanov even elaborated a whole philosophical system, "empirio-monism," and tried to constitute a science of universal organization called "tectology." Lenin scented the danger of this heresy and took Bogdanov and Lunatcharsky to task violently in his book on "materialism and empiric-criticism"—the only work of a philosophical character that he ever wrote, feeble in thought but polemically most powerful. In it he convicted the philosophy of Mach and Avenarius of being bourgeois-reactionary and therefore incompatible with Marxism. Bogdanov stuck to his heresy none the less, wrote several books, developed his system, and loyally separated himself from bolshevism during the revolution; he is now dead and his ideas have no influence among com-

munists. As for Lunatcharsky, he had not the courage to defend Avenarius and gave up writing on philosophical matters; he enjoys no authority among the young communist philosophers, who attack him warmly. Mach's theory (Avenarius is equally involved) was rejected for the sole reason that it was not materialist—materialism is an inviolable symbol, and you are bound to profess it even though your philosophical doctrine is not materialist. Mach taught a sensationalist idealism, according to which being resolves itself into sensations and complexes of sensations. But the world of sensations rises above the distinction of physical and psychical. For Bogdanov, organization of experience is everything, the cosmic process and social whole being only different degrees in its development. The "general line" necessarily opposes a philosophy of this kind, which is quite foreign to dialectic and tends to Positivism rather than to Hegel (the Marx-Leninists have an especial dislike for all kinds of positivism on account of its bourgeois origins). Bogdanov's organization of experience is not at all a philosophy of the struggle born of the impact of contradictions; his way of looking at the social process showed him to be a naturalist. It must be noticed that he and the disciples of Mach are accused of leaning at the same time towards idealism and mechanicism, a mechanicism in this case resulting from the application of mechanistic speculation to social phenomena. The Marx-Leninists will never admit that life is only sensation, the organization of the "thing lived"; no: it is combat, the doing of deeds that remake the world, active construction, and these suppose the objective reality of the material world which is the scene of this strife and accomplishment. A world floating in sensations which are ordered to the interior of the cosmic process is not a favourable condition for war. Bogdanov would begin by forming a proletarian consciousness and culture (to which he gave a very conspicuous place in his system) before the communist revolution was undertaken, and indeed he never accepted the fact of that revolution. This idea could only be, and was, condemned, for it conflicts with what I have called the social titanism of the Soviets.

A far more grave heresy than mechanicism is the deviation towards Hegelian idealism represented by Deborin, editor of the review *Under the Flag of Marxism* which was for several years the organ of Soviet philosophy. Deborin, with Karev and others, has founded a whole school of young philosopher-dialecticians, and there again the "general line" is threatened. Dialectic is good in itself, it is necessary. Soviet philosophy must be dialectical—but it must never become infected with idealism and cease to be materialist. It is right to reverence Hegel, for from Hegel came Marx, and Lenin himself revered him. But God keep us from any inclination

towards his idealism and from subjecting Marxism to "restatement." It must be understood that Deborin always calls himself a materialist (otherwise he could not live), but it is thought that there can be detected in him and his young followers a tendency towards idealism which comes from their devotion to Hegelian dialectic; they have gone too far in their opposition to mechanistic materialism. What happens to every heresy has happened to Deborin's; the truth in it (the opposing of dialectic to mechanicism) has been exaggerated, causing a divergence in the wrong direction and a break in the harmony of the orthodox system. The good work of Deborin's followers against mechanicism is recognized, but they have gone too far and must be themselves opposed. They are accused of separating philosophy from politics and the class-war, their dialectic is too abstract and not in touch with social construction, they do not join in anti-religious propaganda because they are indifferent to that great cause. Their chief fault is the absence of discrimination between the dialectic of Hegel and that of Marx, the one idealist, the other materialist and revolutionary; their own is too formal and academic, they are more interested in logic than in the social struggle. Moreover, Deborin has had the temerity to deny that Lenin was a great and original philosopher, and overrates the importance of Plekhanov. Now according to the teaching of the "general line" Lenin represents a new phase in Marxism and dialectical materialism, corresponding to the period of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, and in this phase it is necessary definitely to subdue metaphysical materialism as well as idealism. Deborin does not realize that and has stopped short at Plekhanov.

Deborin's group is a proof that any excessive familiarity with Hegelian dialectic, any attempt at independent thought, is ruinous for materialism, which is the most childish and elementary of all forms of philosophy. Those of the younger men who have begun to think truly philosophically have all started to revise their materialism, while keeping the sacred name. The higher powers have stopped them in time and suggested that they should change their minds. Deborin is at present convicted of menshevist idealism and has no part in philosophical direction. This type of dialectical philosophy, like mechanicism and the theory of Mach, fails by its indifference to social titanism, to superhuman activity; it is too quiet and peaceable. Why, it gives to consciousness the primacy over being and to logic the primacy over material phenomena! Seen close to, dialectical materialism is an absurd reconciliation of the irreconcilable; that is why both dialectic and materialism must inevitably disappear. But the "general line" sets out to be a middle term between the mechanicism heresy (disappearance of dialectic) on the one hand and the dialectical idealist heresy

(disappearance of materialism) on the other; it is revolutionary dialectical materialism in the classical form that Lenin gave to it. He disclosed the truth, dialectic, that is in idealism, but exaggerated it. Orthodox Soviet philosophy must once again set itself to reconcile what is not reconcilable. It will have radically to modify our conception of matter if it is going to succeed.

III

Marx-Leninist philosophy recognizes only two fundamental philosophical positions, idealism and materialism, and their difference is determined according to their answer to the capital question of the relationship between being and consciousness.

Idealism asserts the primacy of consciousness over being; materialism, of being over consciousness. If you recognize that being determines consciousness you are, by that fact alone, a materialist. We can see at once the fictitiousness and superficiality of such a classification, which is quite unjustifiable from the point of view of the history of philosophic thought. On this showing St. Thomas Aquinas would have to be considered a materialist, for he certainly recognized the primacy of being and would never have conceded that consciousness determined being. I should be surprised were my own philosophy qualified as materialist, and yet I am firmly convinced that being determines consciousness, and not the reverse. The classification does not take into account that one can be neither idealist nor materialist without being half-and-half. Christian philosophy is neither; it is realist. Or again, the existential philosophy of Heidegger or of Jaspers cannot be brought under either of these heads. Marxists always use the term materialism as synonymous with realism, having decided in advance that no other reality exists besides material reality; in all innocence they take the material world to be the one and only objective reality. When they say that being determines consciousness they mean that it is determined by matter and by the *ensemble* of material phenomena; as for consciousness itself, it is only an accident or reflection of the material world. The realism of the "general line" is, of course, untutored, an elementary dogmatism that has not been tested by the criticism of knowledge. And the Marx-Leninist theory of knowledge could not be more *simplist* or less critical. Lenin accepted a double criterion of truth: agreement with the real and agreement with the proletarian consciousness. One is bewildered by the puerility and inadequacy of this way of deciding the crucial point of philosophy. Lenin speaks of "agreement with the real." What does he mean by that? His followers have not attempted even to ask themselves the question which has troubled philosophic thought ever since the days of antiquity; how is the *trans-sensus*, the leap by which thought, consciousness, passes to objective

reality, made possible? Does not the operation of our understanding rationalize the irrational real? They never suppose that the real, the objective data, can be spiritual, that the being which determines consciousness is spiritual. But above all does this double criterion of truth postulate a pre-established harmony of a special kind between the subjective and the objective aspects of the real. Thus agreement with the real always comes back to agreement with the proletarian consciousness. Only "class-philosophy" and "proletarian-science" correspond to the real and are free from the illusions and errors of consciousness. This objective-subjective criterion of truth and knowledge is not a fruit of the understanding or a purely cognitive postulate; it is an object of faith, of messianic faith in the proletariat. This accord of the thought and knowledge of the proletariat with reality can only be a matter of belief and not of rational knowing. Moreover, it appears that this thinking and knowing proletariat is not the empirical one of fact, but an ideal proletariat, bearer of the "proletarian idea" first revealed to the world by Marx. It follows that the consciousness of the proletariat can coincide with reality only as a transcendental, not as an empirical, consciousness, and so the criterion of truth becomes entirely idealist. The Marx-Leninist theory of knowledge does not go very far and is contained in a few sentences. Nor could it be otherwise. Materialism cannot have a theory of knowledge, and its criterion of truth is but elementary, forestalling the advent of critical examination. No criterion of truth can be discovered, from a materialistic standpoint, either in the subject or in the object, for the material world cannot furnish any such criterion. It must be remembered that Marx-Leninists are mortal foes of scepticism, agnosticism, and positivism (all of which are "bourgeois"), and so it happens that thought and intelligence touching the material world are transferred to the depths of matter itself. Thus material reality determines consciousness and makes knowledge possible, because consciousness and virtual thought are in that reality. In short, this dialectical materialism completely reverses the conception of matter and makes of it a myth endowed with divine properties.

The point of departure of the ontology of dialectical materialism is a cheap dogmatism which is indistinguishable from mechanistic materialism. The material world exists; it exists independently of consciousness, without beginning or end in time and space; there is no being other than this world of matter. Sometimes the difference between substance and phenomenon is indicated, with the object of showing that dialectical materialism is not a phenomenism pure and simple: matter is substance, not phenomenon. The series of propositions that follows is a mixture of Hegelian pan-logism and

the crudest popular materialism. Causality and the notion of law exist of themselves within the material world; causality is found actually in things, in matter. Logical categories are the relations and threads which unite real things together; the "general" is included in the "particular." Knowledge is a true reflection of things; thought is a form of motion, the refraction in the social man of universal evolution. The earth was prior to man (this "argument" drawn from a cheap naturalism is ceaselessly brought up against Christianity and all religion). Matter is absolute, knowledge is absolute; every trace of agnosticism or phenomenalism is removed. Dialectical materialism is an absolute system, for the absolute exists and is plainly knowable. Relativism, which follows logically from a materialistic conception of history, is hateful to the "general line"; Mach's functional conception of causality, all relativist positivism, all scepticism, are bourgeois and reactionary, while the methodical doubt of Descartes may not even be mentioned. The world is matter in motion in space and time; absolute truth resting upon absolute reality. Matter is endowed with unusual properties; all the riches of being are bestowed on it, it becomes spiritualized, it takes on an interior life, it is thought, the *logos*, liberty. Sensation appertains to matter, and much more than sensation.

It can be seen at a glance that this system is not properly speaking materialism but hylo-zoism. Matter in motion represents at the same time both the evolution of the world and the passage from a lower to a higher. The autodynamism of matter is the cause of evolution. This conception of evolution in dialectical materialism is particular *naïf*, for the distinction of a higher and a lower rests on a precedent judgment of value and supposes a hierarchy of values. But the problem of values is not even referred to. The fundamental idea of Soviet philosophy, autodynamism, is so developed in the "general line" that it can be regarded as something new, an original addition to the old Marxism. This metaphysical notion is intended to explain and justify the whole of communist politics. Motion in the universe is always a product of inherent autodynamism, and not of a shock from outside as mechanism teaches; there is an internal contradiction in the depths of matter which produces motion from within. Motion, that is, change, supposes being and not-being. All that is undoubtedly taken from Hegel. But Soviet philosophy goes so far as to admit the spontaneity of motion in matter, and that spontaneity is especially dear to it. It provides the metaphysical justification of the dictatorship of the proletariat and proves the possibility of Communism in a backward agricultural country; it is a guarantee against all possible deviations. Free-will would even seem to be quasi-inherent in matter, which recalls the latest ideas of certain

contemporary physicists about "free-will" in atoms. All interpretation of Marxism as an absolute determinism, particularly as a social determinism, is firmly rejected; I will even go so far as to say that the "general line" has arrived at a special sort of indeterminism, a system indispensable to a philosophy of conflict and action. Marxism, following Hegel, has always taught that freedom is a recognition of necessity; Marx-Leninism retains this idea but at the same time defines liberty as the spontaneity of the motion of each material particle. Any explanation by environment is treated with contempt and called mechanism; everything is determined from within, so that it begins to look like a spiritualistic system. Matter is endowed with all the properties of the Hegelian spirit, and that is why dialectic makes its appearance. Dialectic, internal contradiction, autodynamism, these are in the world because pan-logism is inherent in matter.

History is logical and its own ineluctable logic can be seen right down to the class-war. It will even be said that everything that is most precious in the past must be taken in the negative. The revolution is logically defined as a leap, a solution of continuity in the passage from quantitative to qualitative. But the radical and hostile denial of all the historical thought of the past is clearly enough in contradiction with dialectic; dialectical development supposes that the past has its part in the future, that there is thesis and antithesis in the synthesis. Marx-Leninism, however, makes history begin with itself, an absolutely anti-dialectical proceeding. It is continually slipping from dialectic to popular materialism and from that even to the hated mechanism, and it cannot help it, for dialectical materialism is in an untenable position where is bred a perpetual conflict between dialectic and materialism. All its affirmations have a general character. For example, it is conceded (no one knows why) that the soul is part of the supernatural world and that the rejection of the supernatural world signifies the denial of the soul. The idea of the soul is only a trick of the "exploiters," and modern religion is discovered to be full of primitive animism. Nevertheless, the property peculiar to the psychical is recognized. The attribution of bourgeois and reactionary characteristics to the theories of electrons, *quanta*, and relativity is quite especially stupid; it is equivalent to a denial of all scientific discoveries and contemporary physics and to a beginning of really reactionary opinions. For they reproach physicists with having finally reached a complete denial of matter, and confront them with the physics of Lenin and the proletariat. But, as Lenin and the proletariat have no physics and have made no discoveries in that domain, they have to return to the dead theories of the nineteenth century. It is said over and over again that physics

ought to be dialectical, but it remains simply a verbal declaration. The philosophical and scientific theories of the West are sometimes treated very sensibly and even impartially in *Militant Atheism*. It printed a most intelligent article on Vaihinger's *Philosophie des Als Ob*,¹ but after an objective analysis the writer is dragged through the mire of the grossest abuse. Vaihinger's philosophy of functionalism was denounced as bourgeois philosophy in decay and altogether reactionary. But no attempt is made to demonstrate in what way his philosophy (whose importance they exaggerate) is bourgeois-reactionary. It is probably because it is sceptical, relativist, and casts doubt on the existence of that reality wherein man is called on to act. Action is determined by the perception of reality. All the past has been lived in a state of conscious or unconscious falsehood; realities were not known for what they are, so that nobody could act in concert with the real. A single sempiternal truth is opposed to all the ideas of the past, namely, the moral truth which condemns the exploitation and oppression of the people.

The whole of this conception really rests on the assumption that there is identity between the objective nature of truth and the class-subjectivism of the proletariat. If that is shown to be doubtful, everything collapses. Many people, and among them the Marxists, have seen in historical materialism not a theory or a dogma but a method, and as such it is liable to revision and development. But the Marx-Leninists are insistent that it is a theory, a doctrine, a system of dogmas, as well as a method. And they must do this, for not otherwise can their philosophy take on a "theological" character and their teaching be a religious teaching.

It is to be noticed that the Marx-Leninists systematically corrupt and misuse the terminology of traditional philosophy. The example was set by Engels, who arbitrarily opposed dialectic, the dynamic conception of a universe of motion and development, to the metaphysical static conception. According to this view, the German idealists of the beginning of the nineteenth century ought to be called anti-metaphysicians, and the French materialists of the eighteenth century, metaphysicians. This is why the philosophers of the "general line" call Bukharin a metaphysician; in fact, he does not understand dialectic. Actually, dialectic belongs to metaphysics (the dialectic of Plato, of Hegel), although a non-dialectical metaphysic is equally possible (e.g., St. Thomas Aquinas, Spinoza). It is not right to oppose idealism with materialism. Realism should be opposed to idealism, and spiritualism to materialism (the theory of Mach has so little of idealism that it may well be called unqualified sensationalism). The notion itself of idealism is complex. The idealism of Plato came to birth in the struggle with sensationalism and has an ontological

character; that of Kant is quite different and to a certain extent in opposition to Plato's. Husserl's phenomenological objectivism approaches both Platonic idealism and mediaeval realism. The Marx-Leninists are blind to all these shades of meaning. It is a significant fact that all the currents of Western philosophical thought which they take notice of and criticize are secondary and already rather antiquated. Kantian idealism, Avenarius, Mach, Vaihinger, Positivism, these are the systems which seem to them significant for to-day, and influential and widespread in "bourgeois civilization." The philosophical currents which are really characteristic of our time and of interest at present are the phenomenology of Husserl, Max Scheler and Heidegger, Jaspers, the metaphysical realism of N. Hartmann, Kroner's return to Hegelism, Thomism in France, dialectical theology in Germany, the idealist pan-mathematicism of Brunschwig, the *Existenz Philosophie* of Soren Kierkegaard. All these are beyond the horizon of Soviet philosophers; they know simply nothing about them. The Marx-Leninists are all behind in their apologetics, just as Orthodoxy is. They have not got the least notion of the problem of the irrational, which is the fundamental problem of modern philosophy. The irrational systems are not contemplated by dialectical materialists because they are ignorant of them; in general, nothing problematical exists so far as they are concerned. Soviet philosophy has the mouldy smell of "provincial" thought. Although the word "materialism" retains the value of a sacred symbol, the term has ceased to designate any definite system. A philosophy of conflict and action has got to be created; the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship which it produced must absolutely be justified philosophically, independently of the influence of the exterior factors of evolution and without bringing in the quantitative element, the proletariat; their possibility must be securely founded on the qualitative element, the revolutionary class. An essential change in Marxism can be easily seen here; Leninism is already more than Marxism. It is a philosophy of quality and not of quantity, a special form of idealism, and a very emphasized idealism. The very reality with which Russian communism has to do is in a measure "cerebral," idealist, phantasmal, which only shows the power of ideas, the force of human action, the transfiguring might of myths and illusions. The fact of the existence of communist Russia is in itself a refutation of materialism.

IV

The diffusion of militant atheism is one of the principal tasks of Soviet philosophy; it was indeed to a considerable degree with a view to its accomplishment that this philosophy was adopted. The mechanicians are rebuked because their opinions are not capable of taking the place of faith with those

who have abandoned religion, their materialism being too crude and elementary; the followers of Deborin, on the other hand, are accused of not being interested in anti-religious propaganda at all. In conformity with article 13 of the constitution of the Communist Party, every communist is bound to be atheist and to promote atheism; Communism cannot be Christian and in a general way cannot have a religion. In this connection an important incident happened concerning the Swedish communist Heds-lund. He tried to maintain that a communist could be a believing Christian, that it was his own personal concern; and he was hotly opposed and abused by Yaroslavsky. It was henceforth held that religious opinions are not a private matter, as the liberal-democrats claim, but emphatically a social matter (the fact that they looked on religion as a personal concern was one of the reasons why the social-democrats were accused of treachery). Lenin solidly established the principle that religion is a personal matter in a bourgeois State and in such states the separation of Church and State should be required; but within the Communist Party it is not a personal matter but a concern of the Party. Once he is enrolled in it, the communist is committed to militant atheism. This requirement is a little modified in favour of industrial-workers and peasants who are admitted to the Party and accept its programme before they have quite got rid of all their superstitions and religious prejudices.

An express distinction is made between the anti-religious war of the philosophical experts and that of the revolutionary proletariat; a distinction made evident by the attitude taken up in dealing with Plekhanov. His views on religion are criticized in a special article in *Militant Atheism*. He is the founder of Marxism and of social-democracy in Russia, and in his time has exercised great influence in international social-democracy; but he has lost all authority among the young Marx-Leninists and is denounced as a traitor, menshevist, and adherent of the Fourth International. I think the Marx-Leninists are right, up to a point, when they label him an exponent of the philosophy of enlightenment, an "enlightener" of the people. He is of exactly that type and the materialistic principles of the eighteenth century "Enlightenment" are again incarnate in him. Our young Marx-Leninists think that he does not take religion seriously enough. His warfare against it is intellectual and scientific; he still thinks that religious beliefs will perish of themselves when the people have been sufficiently instructed and educated; hence the accusation that he ignores the "class" aspect of religion and the need for a "religious class-war." These philosophers fight religion with the weapons of bourgeois "free-thought," but Marx-Leninism is not free-thought and is contemptuous of the bourgeois free-thinker; philosophico-scientific criticism of religion

is simply one department of the class-warfare with the exploiters. Plekhanov has not understood the part played by religion in exploitation. The "general line" philosophers reject all scientific theories about the origin of religion and of Christianity and dismiss all definitions of religion as bourgeois, and those Marxists such as Kunov, Plekhanov, and Kautsky who make use of them are warmly opposed. Kunov used to be looked on as a great authority, and his work *The Beginning of Religion and of Belief in God*, was published by the State publishing-house (*Gosizdat*) and recommended for use in propaganda. Now he is repudiated and violently criticized and the use of his book forbidden; he is not a dialectical materialist but a positivist, a follower of Tailor and other bourgeois authorities on animism; he misunderstood the social and "class" character that religion has always had. The Marx-Leninists will have nothing to do with any of the "bourgeois" scientific theories about religious belief: animism, naturalism, totemism, the mythological school's explanation of Christianity (denial of Christ's historical existence is obligatory), Freudian psychoanalysis as applied to religion. The only difficulty is that both Marx and Engels inclined to the naturalist view of the origin of belief. The Marx-Leninists take up an absolutely anti-historical standpoint and carry their warfare into the whole of past history; according to them religion has always and everywhere produced social oppression and exploitation, and the least allusion to any positive part it has played in the most distant past at once provokes angry animosity. The attacks on Christianity always have in view only its most popular (in the bad sense) and rudimentary forms and those which Christians themselves admit to be obscurantist and superstitious; the glories of Christianity, its saints and ascetics, its great thinkers, are deliberately ignored.

It must be allowed that this propaganda is often directed against the real shortcomings of Christians which we ourselves are forced to acknowledge, but it never touches Christianity itself. It is certainly painful to have to concede that the charges made against historical Christianity in an article by Yaroslavsky are three-quarters well founded and that we must take the blame. But on the other hand there is never a word about the high spiritual achievements of religious life; uninstructed readers of this propaganda are bound to receive the impression that no men of culture and intellectual attainments, endowed with a true creative genius, have ever been religious believers.

Soviet militant atheism is directed against all religions and every faith, but its sharpest point is turned towards Christianity. The fate of Kautsky's book *On the Origin of Christianity*, once regarded as the source-work on the subject, is typical. It was republished during the Soviet period with an introduc-

tion by Riazanov and was used officially in anti-religious propaganda, but now that is strictly forbidden; it is remembered that Kautsky has been a socialist traitor, a menshevist, an opponent of Bolshevism, and all his errors, wrongdoings, and treachery are attributed to his mistaken non-Marxist historical views. Marx-Leninists do not admit that bad practice is compatible with true theory; it is all one to them. Kautsky saw in primitive Christianity an effect of proletarian movements within the Roman empire; he saw Christ (the question of whose existence he thought of no importance) as a rebel and a revolutionary; and was not far from detecting a communistic character in his early followers in spite of the strong contrast between their community of goods and the Communism of to-day. *Militant Atheism* considered Kautsky's book in a special article, very well written. It is absolutely forbidden to attribute a proletarian and communist character to primitive Christianity; the argument may not be used in anti-religious propaganda because of the risk of thereby raising the prestige of Christianity in the eyes of the people and encouraging sympathy for it. The unfortunate Kautsky's opinion, although he concerned himself solely with economic phenomena, is declared to be "theological"—which is simply comic. Moreover, he explained the birth of Christianity by reference to its historical environment and its adaptation thereto, and this is denounced as mechanistic. The Christian phenomenon must be explained by the internal dialectic of social classes, by the struggle of men among themselves, by their autodynamism. Christianity, like every other religion, has been a social evil from the beginning and they even go so far as to assert that there were human sacrifices and sexual promiscuity in early Christian worship; that there were never any persecutions by the Roman emperors, they are a deliberate fable. And some of the phrases that are met with are of an absurdity passing all belief; for example, it is written that: "Behind the figures of the Buddha and of Christ the shameless face of Capitalism can be seen looming up." The weakness and failures within Christianity throughout the course of history lend colour to monstrous statements of this sort. Everything that has scientific pretensions in Soviet literature on religion is on an infinitely lower level than the philosophy of the "general line" which, after all, represents a certain effort of the mind; but when it is a question of religion, party passion and animosity paralyse thought altogether. Nevertheless, every means of playing on the emotions of the people is used with much skill, and many of the "stunts" are psychologically very clever. What are the fundamental themes and the weak spots at which they direct their blows?

Lenin's explanation of religion called for by the

necessities of the war of militant atheism is the only one accepted as scientific and as in conformity with the spirit of Soviet philosophy of the "general line." According to him, religion is an instrument of exploitation, a spiritual poison; it is a class phenomenon. Religion has always been the tool of exploitation and oppression, it has never had any positive value; never led, never helped, never contributed to the bettering of life; it has never defended the oppressed, it has always upheld the existing state of things and been a pillar of social immobility. Anti-religious literature dishes up the arguments of Feuerbach and Marx, but in a coarser form. Anticipation of the joys of Heaven distracts us from trying to improve our life on earth; religion offers an imaginary bliss, whilst it reflects man's real misery; Christian symbolism is only an expression of social relations with inequality, the domination of some over others, oppression. But the fundamental argument is that *religion in general, and Christianity in particular, is the negation of human activity*. Activity is the part of God, man is passive and listless; Christianity teaches that injustice and inequality should be patiently borne on earth and righteousness and happiness looked for in Heaven. Soviet philosophy holds so tightly to materialism because it is the radical negation of all transcendence and otherworldliness, which communists hate more than anything else; they see their worst enemy in faith in a transcendental world, in the existence of a transcendental being. The argument which is the most often used and considered to be the most convincing springs from this standpoint: the argument that believing Christians look to miracles and to divine grace for the betterment of their life; they celebrate offices to ask for a good harvest or for rain instead of improving agricultural technique and using tractors (technique is regarded as the best weapon against religion), and this does not accord with human activity. The methods of anti-religious propaganda are prepared particularly for a peasant environment, with an eye to forms of Christianity that are near enough to superstition and which do in fact discourage man's activity. Throughout history Christianity has often been used for that purpose, but that has nothing at all to do with the essence of it as the religion of the God-Man. Christianity does *not* teach that the Christian ought to expect a miracle always and in all matters, that man must not act, but leave it to God. For all that, the argument from human passivity still remains the strongest of all in the propagandist's armoury; it raises in the Christian conscience the problem of interpretation and of the justification of human activity. Marx-Leninists believe that the rationalization of political economy means the end of mysticism and religion, there will be no room left for mystery; it is the anarchy of capitalist production that breeds religious beliefs. This is a very frail

argument which corresponds not at all with reality, for it is precisely during the capitalist epoch that religion has been weakened and it is the contradictions of Capitalism that drive men to atheism. Marx-Leninists believe that a controlled economy that makes the life of men depend on organized activity, a rationalization of every side of life, must by doing away with chance at the same time do away with religion and usher in the triumph of materialism. But there is no need to wait for these things to happen by themselves by the force of autodynamism; they must be forwarded by the anti-religious war. Its propaganda is a sacred duty and philosophy must be at its service; this task on the philosophical front is an integral part of the Five-Year Plan. Moreover, a distinction is made between anti-religious propaganda and the persecution of religion, a discrimination on which the propagandists insist very strongly. In their textbooks and discussions of method there is a continual disparagement of the forced closing of churches and of sacrilege. "Don't make martyrs!" is the cry of Yaroslavsky and his henchmen. It doesn't pay; it leads to religious reaction and a strengthening of faith among the people. They review all the examples of where wrongs have been done, zeal carried too far, open persecution engaged in, and recommend abstention from such methods as deviations and deformations of their proper work. We know that in practice they do make martyrs, that almost every priest is put in the position of a martyr, but these things are not interpreted as religious persecution, they are political measures against counter-revolutionaries. As for the feast-days, they are said to have the reactionary effect of mollifying the hate of the workers for the exploiters.

It is curious to notice that the members of non-conformist sects are looked on as more dangerous than the Orthodox believers. Orthodoxy appears to them as the lowest, most passive, most superstitious, and most obscurantist form of Christianity, and it is easily overcome. The religion of the sects (it is probably principally the Baptists that they have in view) is an improved form of Christianity, less reactionary from the social standpoint. The sectaries are far more active than the Orthodox, they show more skill in meeting the offensive, and therefore they are a more dangerous enemy. They may even be communists, but then they repudiate class-war by violence and enfeeble the activities of the workers. Their ministers, "priests-in-trousers," are deemed more dangerous than "priests-in-cassocks"; they are an elusive enemy, more cultured and better armed. Priests-in-cassocks are allowed still to exist, though under grinding conditions and with a very narrow curtailment of their religious activities, thanks to opportunist concessions granted to the remains of superstition among the people; but priests-in-trousers are absolutely refused the

right to live in Soviet territory. God may be spoken of in church during service-time, but apart from that no one is permitted to refer to him. Strictly speaking all non-materialists, non-Marxists, free philosophers, all men with spiritual desires, belong to the category of priests-in-trousers; it is a prodigiously large category, every idealist or spiritualist philosopher belongs to it. Einstein is a priest-in-trousers. Even Lunatcharsky is suspect. The ideas of the priest-in-trousers are more troublesome than those of the priest-in-cassocks because they cannot be fought with too elementary arguments; above all do the Marx-Leninists hate the truly spiritual forms of religious life and thought. Lenin declared roundly that a Catholic *abbé* who corrupts young girls is preferable to a chaste good-living priest, because he is so much easier to deal with. Nothing is more disliked by Marx-Leninists than attempts at conciliation between Christianity and communistic Socialism. They dread that the Church might adapt herself to Socialism in order to gain the souls of the workers. They believe that her hostility to Communism is determined not only empirically by the facts, but follows from her very doctrine. I am assured that a bourgeois full of capitalist greed is more tolerable, more acceptable as a fellow-traveller, to a militant atheist than is a Christian communist. As for the anti-religious propaganda itself, it is a complex mixture. There is indubitably an educative element for the instruction of the unlettered people, but it is closely bound up with atheism and a new and frightful idolatry.

V

To sum up our analysis: The attitude of the Marx-Leninists towards philosophy and religion is determined in the first place by the requirements of an active warfare, and accordingly Soviet philosophy may at first sight give an impression of pragmatism. But it in fact condemns pragmatism and proclaims the existence of an objective absolute Truth which corresponds to reality. The power and fulness of the faith of the Marx-Leninists, their incapacity for doubt and for critical reflection are astounding. Their search for a synthetic philosophical system, wherein theory and practice shall be indissolubly unified, is admirable in many respects: we must do the same—but in quite another name. They wish to produce a new man, a new psychical entity, and it is possible that they will succeed better in that than in building a new economy. Psychologically they have done much—and it is very frightening. Their communistic economy is much more neutral and much less intimidating. We, too, must put our hopes in the birth of a new man, in the creation of a new psychical entity, but one grounded on the eternal truth of Christianity. The Marx-Leninists have drawn up an imposing plan for a radical reconstruction of social life: that is their strength.

But they are coming under the sway of a colourless impersonalism. They have thrown away all the old sacred things and age-long values and bow before a novel sacredness and new values, and these new things do not dwell in the heights of Being, but move among the slums; their passion for social justice alone belongs to a better world.

The Marx-Leninists do not see the prophetic side of religion and they have a dark "prophetism" of their own. Their notion of Christianity as an obscurantist faith for slaves considerably eases the task they have before them, and unhappily they meet a good many Christians who fit into such a description; as for their conception of the world, an often merely verbal materialism is not essential to it; they are not materialists at all, but profess a sort of lightless spiritualism. What is essential to them is atheism, hatred of Christianity. For all that it has a certain truth in it, Communism is the utter limit of social idolatry; it is consistent with itself and affirms the absolute supremacy of society over man, over individuals, over their souls. Communists stake their all on the outward social warfare and stifle all anxiety about the meaning of personal life and the destiny of a human being face to face

with Eternity. Their philosophy, slave to the passing hour, never contemplates the problems of suffering and death, the meaning of that which was and is not, eternity. Their simpleness is particularly shown by their not understanding that everything is ultimately determined by a fundamental and ageless hierarchy of values. The problem of values simply does not exist for them, in spite of all their speculation and all their action being dominated by the fact that they have exalted social, economic, and technical values as sovereign—a conception that in no way corresponds to the complexity and variety of the real which they pursue, which is entirely out of harmony with the mystery of Being. Their philosophy is not a philosophy of human existence, whatever their affirmations about the activity of class-man may be, but a philosophy of objects and things. For them, truth is only a weapon of war exuding hate; a truth appertaining not to Eternity, but to the Five-Year Plan. Their task is the equitable organization of human society, and it has been entrusted to them according to the mysterious disposition of divine providence; and by them the grandeur of that task has been brought low, defiled, dishonoured.

NOTE

This thoughtful exposition,—by one who was himself once a disciple and admirer of Karl Marx,—is supplemented by two other studies of Communist ideology in the collection. One is the excellent synthesis by Fr. La Farge and the other takes the shape of a concrete investigation of Dialectical Materialism, by Fr. Edmund Walsh.

The Philosophical Basis of Communism

By JOHN LA FARGE, S.J.

At the Ninth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Philosophical Association, Pittsburgh, Pa., Dec., 1933

Introduction: Why Consider the Theory of Communism

A CERTAIN surprise, in the minds of some, may be created by the title of this paper. Why should Communism have a philosophical basis? Is it not merely an expression of social discontent: the rationalization, by interested leaders, of the feelings of the "outs" with regard to the "ins"?

Such a question would have been more natural ten years ago than it is today. The experiences of the last few years have taught us to take more seriously, from a theoretic point of view, the aberrations of society as well as its successes. We look back to the past, and see what grievous practical errors might have been avoided, how many heresies and revolutions might have been averted, if popular movements had been taken more seriously in the beginning; if their theoretical implications had been better understood, and if they had been combated upon these grounds, rather than upon the grounds of mere expediency, or the warfare of personalities.

This has been particularly true of Communism, or its most important manifestation, Bolshevism, in the past. We know that when Lenin commenced his world-shaking duel with Kerensky after the first Russian Revolution, he was regarded by many as a mere actor, a noisy fellow who would soon defeat himself by his own illogicality, and expire to make room for another. It is still more true today, that Communism cannot be dealt with unless due regard be had for its theoretical foundation.

1. Definition

What do we mean by Communism? What we are here immediately concerned with is not one of the various abstract utopian theories of the past, the notions of a Saint-Simon or a Fourier; but the doctrine which today is actually guiding the destinies of 160,000,000 people: one-seventh, I believe, of the human race, over one-sixth of the inhabited globe; a doctrine, moreover, which in some shape or fashion—though it be no more than by mere report—is

engaging the attention of nearly all the rest of thinking humanity.

2. Origin

Communism, as thus understood, claims to have a doctrine; to be based upon exact and consequent theory; though the manner of its basing is different, as we shall see, from that of other systems of thought. But even if Communism made no such claim, it would seem evident that so vast and uniform a social phenomenon could not have held sway for the past sixteen years unless it had some kind of definite philosophical basis as its formal cause. Nor is it conceivable how otherwise it could inspire such enthusiasm and devotion among its adherents.

The task, however, is simplified by the fact that unlike its supposed opponent, capitalism, Communism has a universally recognized exponent, Lenin, the authorized practical interpreter of the basic teacher, Karl Marx. To trace, even in cursory manner, the genesis of the Marxian theory would be beyond the scope of this paper. The seed-ground, we may say, of these ideas, was the destruction, under economic liberalism, of respect for human personality. Blame has been laid upon the machine, which transformed the workshop into the factory, and concentrated the working population in industrial centers: "concentration of equipment, concentration of workmen, concentration of labor."¹ But the machine, with all this concentration and transformation, would not have built up the dissolving doctrine of Karl Marx had not economic liberalism laid its heavy hand upon the industrial scene. The human being became a tool; human relationships vanished before the iron rule of economic expediency.

The denial of individual rights by those who suffered most by their deprivation is an instance of the phenomenon which is so frequent in the relationships of human groups: that extremes call forth extremes. Opposition leads to defiance, distrust to distrust; protective measures lead to a sense of insecurity and to retaliatory measures.

It would be a mistake, however, to ascribe the growth of Leninism to the spontaneous reactions of the masses. Such reactions were the seed ground, but the actual planting was done by the intellectuals. As Henri de Man says:²

¹ Benoist, *L'Organisation du travail*, p. 4.

² *Au déla du Marxisme*.

Socialist doctrines are the product not of the intellectual distress of the proletariat, but of the abundance of culture enjoyed by the intellectuals of bourgeois or aristocratic stock. You find hardly a single proletarian among the great thinkers and dreamers who were the pioneers of the Socialist idea. It is true that the names of proletarians appear later at the time when their doctrines are already incorporated in the programs for the movements of the masses. But by this time it is no longer a question of formulating the doctrines, but merely of developing them, of applying and spreading them. Even among those who are devoted to this task, workers or former workers are in the minority compared with the bourgeois intellectuals for all that concerns the strictly speaking theoretical work.

3. Dialectic Materialism

The characteristic doctrine of Marx and Lenin, that of dialectic materialism, as is generally recognized, was derived directly from Hegel. Christopher Dawson, in his "Inquiries," derives Socialism from (1) the revolutionary thought of Rousseau; (2) German thought, which was concerned first with the idea of the fulfilment of the Christian Revelation, as in Lessing; and (3) the Third Age or Third Gospel idea, which was adopted by Fichte, Schelling, and others; and which was realized by Hegel in the Prussian State. Hegel, as we know, was fundamentally religious; and by some is believed to have derived his idea of a triple dialectic from the concept of the Trinity.

Besides absorbing and transforming this idea of Hegel, Karl Marx was deeply impregnated by the French and German materialism of the eighteenth century, as well as by the German materialism of Feuerbach. The combination of the two gave him what he desired.

Dialectic materialism, according to Marx, is the explanation of the changes which take place in the world, viewed as an historical phenomenon. These changes are due to a purely materialistic cause: to the conditions of production, together with the class system which is founded upon them. All history and all society are conditioned by it. I know of no clearer statement than that offered by Waldemar Gurian in his work *Bolshevism: Theory and Practice* (page 210):

Dialectical materialism is the description of their philosophy given by the Bolsheviks themselves. It must be distinguished in the first place from every form of metaphysical materialism current in the eighteenth century and among bourgeois men of science in the nineteenth. For it the world is not a static world, at rest and without a history; it is an historical, moving, and changing reality. The dialectic is the theory of these changes and movements, the principle which explains them. But it is not, as with Hegel, an idealistic logic, for it is based on an objective materialism. It is the explanation of historical and social changes and

developments as due to cause of a material nature; namely, the conditions of production and the class system founded upon these. It cannot be opposed as a spiritual force to this social and historical reality. All idealism is therefore rejected as being simply the expression of a subjective attitude to the world divorced from the historical fact.

Just how whole-heartedly Marx, and his disciple, Lenin, wished to ascribe their doctrine to Hegel is no easy task to determine. Lenin wrote in 1894, that "By the dialectic method Marx and Engels understood nothing other than a scientific method in sociology which consists in considering society as a living, continuously developing organism (not as a mere mechanical conglomeration permitting arbitrary combinations of its component elements) which must be studied by an objective analysis of the conditions of production responsible for any given social formation, and by an investigation of the laws of its functioning and development." According to a long passage quoted by Lenin from Marx, the latter was concerned merely with an historical process that determined the thoughts and consciousness of men. Marx specifically denied the theory that economic laws are the same for the past and for the present. Each period has its own laws.³

On the other hand, Lenin wrote in 1922: "We must make the Marxian interpretation of Hegel's dialectic in a materialist sense the foundation of our work. We can and should work out this dialectic in every possible direction."⁴

We can take our choice of the interpretations. But it seems only practical, for the understanding of the events of 1933, to give the preference to the doctrine of 1922 over that of 1894.

4. Consequences of Hegel's Doctrine

Marx prided himself on ridding the Hegelian doctrine of its "wrappings of mysticism"; that is to say, its idealistic or spiritual content. Yet it was the appropriation, under the wolf's clothing, we might say, of the sheep's doctrine of a dialectic essentially spiritual in its origin, that enabled Marx, and after him Lenin, to overcome the hopelessly static character of any social philosophy based upon mere materialism bereft of any vivifying principle. A faithful student of Hegel and his colleagues, the Russian philosopher V. S. Soloviev, wrote prior to 1880 the following words, which give the key to the fascination that this doctrine had for the minds of the new revolutionaries:

The philosophy of Hegel, as a system absolute in its own sphere, is completely closed within itself, and cannot be rejected or developed *in part*. The only way to escape from it is to recognize the one-sidedness or limitations of its entire sphere or of the principle itself, that is to say, the principle of a wholly separated understanding in the sphere of pure logic. Actually, as

³ Florinsky, *World Revolution and the U. S. S. R.*, pp. 9-11.

⁴ Gurian, p. 307.

soon as the doctrine of Hegel would be completely stated and understood, it would be rejected in all its absoluteness merely by the axiomatic assertion: the understanding is not everything. In other words, *the understanding as such* is not activity itself.

In Soloviev's view, empirical, as opposed to a purely idealistic, philosophy, arose from this *reductio ad absurdum* of Hegel; and the door was open for scientific materialism. Hegel's theory of knowledge, in his view, led by rigid consequence to the doctrine that the source of knowledge was wholly outside of myself; hence the foundation for all knowledge was purely inductive empiricism. Pure materialism, therefore, was the natural consequence of Hegelianism.⁵

Hence the transformation of the Hegelian idealistic dialectic into the materialistic theory was more logical than would at first sight appear; and was not a mere adventitious union of a convenient idealistic principle with crass materialism.

5. Pragmatic Character of Dialectic Materialism

In no fashion, however, is dialectic materialism to be thought of as a theoretic explanation of reality by a doctrine separated therefrom. Hence it is not an epistemology, a system of logic with which to unravel the world, but remains self-contained and inviolate. Nor is it a form of "scientificism," weighing and measuring, with an independent yardstick of pure observation, the phenomena that come beneath its ken, but from which it is entirely aloof. On the contrary, the dialectic is reality. Its conclusions are actual deeds. Lenin never tired of emphasizing that it was learned by living. These deeds, however, are not to be interpreted in the sense of a gradual evolution, like the steady transformation in the earth's crust caused by geological forces. The dialectic fulfils its office of transforming history, or, rather, it fulfils itself, by leaps and bounds. Periods of intense revolutionary activity may be succeeded by prolonged periods of complete calm. Hence the extraordinary elasticity, for practical purposes, of the dialectic. It can fit the period when Lenin is hiding in a hayloft near the border of Finland as aptly as when he is haranguing the revolutionaries in the Smolny Institute. The dialect is as much at home in the China of Confucius as in the upheavals of modern agitation. It is a complete union of theory and practice. It is at once an instrument of knowledge, and that which is known.

This radical pragmatism, of course, is philosophically enormously convenient. It disposes in one blow of a host of troublesome metaphysical questions. Communism justifies its theory by its practice; the dialectic process is its own apologetic.

It is proved to be philosophically correct because it works.

This pragmatic argument is all the more effective when it is reinforced by crushing demonstrations as to how the capitalist system does not work, and therefore is philosophically unsound. This is demonstrated in systematic fashion country by country in the theses adopted by the twelfth plenary convention of the international Communist party held in 1932.

The inconvenient feature, however, of the pragmatic system is that it is equally embarrassing when it does not work. Trotsky, as we know, has been endlessly diligent in pointing out that the dialectic necessarily leads to a different evolution than that of socialism in a single country, as adopted by Stalin. The dialectic was supposed to do away automatically with such evils as terrorism and bureaucracy; yet these are found more strongly entrenched than ever after sixteen years of peaceful evolution. The attempt to throw back upon the immediate danger of foreign intervention the existence of these supposed excrescences upon the Soviet State seems rather a poor explanation for their persistence. The dialectic is no closer to their elimination now than it was in 1917; nor is it any nearer to the goal of universal equality.

Hence, in the last analysis, the dialectic is found to be not merely an instrument for criticizing the non-Communist order of society. It has its own internal laws, which affect its own development, and oblige it to tend in directions contrary to those expected. Yet it is of its essence that it should not tend in ways unexpected. Its peculiar merit is that it is scientifically predictable; and a large part of the Soviet discussion of society lies in positive predictions based upon the infallible dialectic.

6. From Theory of Reality to Ethics

In an ontological sense, therefore, this leads to a characteristic view of the nature of reality. Reality, in the Leninistic scheme, is simply productive society, which, in turn, is entirely sufficient for itself, and has no further end than its own being. It is the philosophical expression of that complete preoccupation with the economic or materially productive side of life which characterized Karl Marx. "He was obsessed and distracted," says Nicholas Berdyaev in *Christianity and Class War*, "by the diseased conditions of capitalist society, and could see no healthy evolution beyond it."

Ethical theory, however, will naturally follow the theory of reality. The entire immanence of the dialectical principle denies all transcendence, all end of society outside of itself. Hence society is completely self-sufficient. The individual, therefore, exists only for society.

⁵ V. S. Soloviev, *Works*, vol. I, pp. 62 to 66.

Society, however, is understood as having meaning only when identified with a class, the class of the exploited workers or proletariat. The only norm of right, therefore, is conformity to the interests of this class. Since these interests are economic, conformity is understood in a technical sense. That is right, which technically promotes the economic welfare of the proletariat. The psychological explanation of such an identification of society with the exploited class, or the proletariat, is easy enough: it is determined by historical causes. But what philosophic justification could it be conceived as possessing, further than the mere assertion that this is the chosen element of mankind? In the work just quoted, Mr. Berdyaev explains this all-dominating concept of class from the peculiarities of the mind of Marx, by which he "made the categories of the capitalist régime absolute and extended them beyond the economy of his own age. He thought he could see a conflict between the 'proletariat' and the 'bourgeoisie' throughout the whole of history, although, in fact, these classes were not always in existence."

Marx was familiar, through revolutionary experience, with the war waged upon the working class by the oppressors, as a class in the capitalist world. By the process of antithesis, therefore, he built up a corresponding absolute class concept. What was made absolute by *fact*, in the existing class warfare under capitalism, was made absolute in *theory* by universalizing an antithesis as the foundation of the revolution to come.

7. Marx's Method

The method of Marx can be approximated to that of Freud: he denounces the deceptions of consciousness and exposes the impulses and inclinations that lie below in the subconsciousness of the classes; but his rationalist psychology prevents him from going deeply enough into what he finds.⁶

From an epistemological point of view, according to Berdyaev, Marx fell into two surprising contradictions. He fell into extreme nominalism with regard to the traditional concepts of *man* and of *society*. Society is conceived from an "atomic" standpoint, as a battlefield of classes moved by opposing interests. This nominalism arises from the essential nominalistic character of materialism, despite the addition of the Hegelian dialectic. On the other hand, he is guilty likewise of an extreme realism in hypostatizing the abstraction of the class struggle. Marx "took the abstraction of thought for the realities of being."

Nevertheless, whatever flaws may be picked in the logical justification of the class theory, these defects are covered by the triumphant power of a system which unites completely theory and practice.

⁶ Berdyaev, *loc. cit.*

Since, however, this union is effected by an immanent principle which is at once the principle of knowledge and the principle of act, we are led to the religiously absolute character of the Marxian idea. This is its most astonishing feature and is widely commented upon as it manifests itself in the Soviet phenomenon.

8. Religious Character of Communism

The word "religion" as applied to Communism is not as whimsical as may at first sight appear. Communism presupposes an absolute evolutionary principle, which is the adequate explanation of the world of human phenomena. This principle is given an unqualified blind faith. From this principle is derived a certain type of morality: party morality, it is true, but as exacting in its prescriptions and sanctions as the morality imposed by any of the great historic religions. Finally, this religion has a missionary character. It is essentially a matter for propagation, for conquest not merely of externals, but of intelligences: and no effort can be too great to devote to this end.

The utter absoluteness of Communism gives to it certain extraordinary prerogatives, which, though found singly in other systems, are rarely found in conjunction in other philosophies of life.

The Absolute confers upon Communism complete exclusiveness, amounting to the most drastic and rigid intolerance. No consideration, no sentiment, no tradition, can stand in the way of the Absolute when it chooses to express itself by materializing in social forms the process of dialectic materialism.

On the other hand, the Absolute confers upon Communism the privilege of complete flexibility and adaptability.

Nevertheless, the mere Hegelian absolute, invested though it be with the terrible realism of materialism, and armed with the dynamism of class warfare, is hardly enough to arouse the passionate devotion which actually is shown to the Marxian ideal in Russia of today. Though the philosophy of Communism is "monolithic," to borrow their own expression, and recognizes the need of no auxiliaries to its own end save what itself can account for, its concrete mission, as a constructive force, is undoubtedly furthered by many psychological aids to which Marx can lay no credit, but are part of the common stock of all humanity and human systems.

A spiritual halo surrounds and bathes in its glow this philosophy of the State, in party gatherings, in the press, at school, at the theater, at the motion pictures: a longing for entire justice, the will to common solidarity in the collective task, an optimistic certainty that every imperfection and evil will be overcome; and in particular that capitalism and its handmaids, the melancholy slave religions, will be abolished. There is a vaporous halo of feeling that has been floating for centuries, ever since Plato, around Communistic dreams;

a state of mind peculiarly adapted to the racial mysticism of Russians, to their messianic impulse.⁷

Witness to this psychology are the dramatic roll-calls of Soviet industrial heroes that now adorn the Soviet press; the congratulations to Stalin; the development of the legendary and heroic.

9. Why Absolute?

To return, however, to the Absolute as an element in the Communist theory. Philosophically it may be justified as a logical consequence of the expression of dialectic materialism in the terms of class warfare. Such an expression of its nature must be wholly intolerant, hence wholly absolutistic: no qualification or condition can be conceived of.

Historically the absolute character of the Communistic theory of the State may be accounted for, at least in part, by the absoluteness of the political power in opposition to which that theory developed in practice. Only by demanding the utmost consecration to an absolute ideal could Lenin not merely steer his followers to resist Tsarism and the secret police; but, what is far more, become efficient against what was to him a far more dread enemy—the dissolving influence of humanitarianism and mildly socialistic reform. How bitterly Lenin felt towards such a secret enemy is shown by the words he uses in his famous “April Theses” (1917) during the first, Kerensky, Revolution: the present situation in Russia “is characterized, on the one hand, by a maximum of legality (Russia is *now* the freest of all the belligerent countries of the world); on the other, by the absence of oppression of the masses, and, finally, by the trustingly ignorant attitude of the masses toward the capitalist government, the worst enemy of peace and Socialism.”

But another element enters in to quicken the impetus to the absolute. Lenin is fighting not only against industrial oppression, as a social philosopher; not only against political might, as an anti-Tsarist revolutionist, and against political seduction, as an opponent of mere humanitarianism. He is fighting against the Christian Absolute; the idea of a Transcendent God: not merely against the established Church, but against even the most inward religion of the spirit:

In 1913 Lenin wrote to Maxim Gorky:

Every sort of religious idea, every concept of every kind of a little godhead, every coquetting even with a little god, is an inexpressible baseness . . . the most horrible sort of infection. Millions of sins, vilenesses, violences, and physical diseases can be far more easily revealed to the masses, and are therefore much less dangerous than this delicate, spiritual idea of a nice little godlet, dressed up in most decorative ‘idealistic’ robes.⁸

And he called Hegel an “idealistic scalawag!” for thinking of God.

10. How to Meet Communism. Points of Contactual Divergence

After this brief and unsatisfactory survey, the following practical considerations present themselves.

It is not enough to combat Bolshevism on purely economic grounds; whatever theories we may entertain as to its technical deficiencies. The roots of this aberration go far deeper, and cannot be met by confining ourselves within its own narrow circle of thought.

Nor can it be met wholly on the transcendental plane. Although partly religious in its character, the aberration is not solely in the religious order. Powerful as is the concept of the Divine Absolute to oppose the absolute State of the Marxians, yet as the system has entered through philosophic portals, we must enter by these portals if we are to probe to the root of the system.

May it not be an important task for our Catholic philosophers to check up, patiently and objectively, on the matters, few and scattered as they may be, which we still can and do hold in common with the Marxians? Such a common basis of thought will be too scant a support from which to undertake the conversion of the older generation of Communists. But as the system works out its own practical dialectic, and is found to develop its own internal contradictions, such a philosophical message on our part may yet penetrate to the individual Communist in this country; and, with the growth of contacts, to the newer and fresher minds among the Communist youth of Russia.

Starting with the common question, then, of the criterion of social justice, we note the following points in common between the Christian and the orthodox Communist:

1. Both the Christian and the Communist agree, as opposed to the mere hedonist or cynical agnostic, that material goods (let us waive those that are spiritual) are to be judged not merely by their immediate pleasurable-ness, but by the degree to which they enable us to participate in a fuller life.

2. The Christian and the Communist agree on certain specific goods as contributing to this fuller life: for instance, health, popular culture, literature, music, art, etc. They agree that hard work is a necessary element of life, at least here and now.

3. They agree that exploitation is an evil. Indeed the moral indignation which the Communist showers upon exploitation appears to us as rather naïve appropriation of a Christian moral sense; rather than as any logical development of materialism.

⁷ L. Barde, *Semaine, Sociale de France*, 1933.

⁸ Vernadsky, *Lenin*, p. 324.

4. They disagree on what this fuller life is. Why be healthy, educated, etc.? Also as to the philosophy of work, or its permanence as a phase of human existence.

5. They disagree on the ultimate reason why such a fuller life is attainable. The Christian: because life is a gift of the Divine love for man; the Bolshevik: that man is inherently self-sufficient.

6. They disagree on the part that society plays in the distribution of these benefits. The Christian looks upon society as organizing a harmony of human rights, correlative with human duties. The Communist looks upon the social collectivity as the absolute source of all good.

7. They disagree on the ultimate reasons why mankind should be deprived of these goods. The Christian ascribes this phenomenon to primitive moral failure, or original sin; and to individual moral delinquency, or actual sin. The Commu-

nists look upon the deprivation merely as a phenomenon inherent in class warfare.

To reach such points of comparison, which might be multiplied, is not easy in actual human contacts; for the Communist is more concerned with act than with theory; while the Catholic naturally shrinks from so unsatisfactory a basis of approach. Still, the clear understanding of differences is the first step to their removal.

Conclusion: Task of Catholic Philosophy

Communism was born, theoretically and historically, in that obscure borderland where history joins philosophy. The two great associations which are meeting here in Pittsburgh are exploring this borderland in the interest of a surer synthesis of philosophy and history than has yet been attained. In proportion as this synthesis is reached shall we be in a position to combat Communism effectively from the philosophical point of view. Let us hasten this counter-attack before it is too late.

What is the Concrete Meaning of Dialectical Materialism?

Excerpts From a Work in Preparation on the Russian Revolution

By EDMUND A. WALSH, S.J.

One of the fundamental doctrines of Communism, and at the same time perhaps its most mysterious and mystical dogma, is dialectical materialism. This complicated and elusive theory furnishes, however, the characteristic method and framework of Bolshevik polemics. It is implicit in all their teachings and explicit in all formal programmes.

Dialectical materialism for the first time, to my knowledge, has entered into the practical politics of a sovereign state, and has become both the official language and the justification of its political science. Materialism defines itself as the doctrine which explains all human phenomena—physical, mental and moral—by the activities, combinations and reactions of matter, to the exclusion of spirit and ideals. It exalts matter to the prerogative of mind, and limits mind to the unexplored capacities of sentient matter. By so doing, and by thus seeking to explain the manifold activities of life and intellect by physics, chemistry, and motion, materialism demands more miracles than Faith has ever required. Chief among the postulates which materialism assumes is the sweeping requirement to at-

tribute exclusively to unaided matter the phenomena of thought, volition, knowledge of the abstract, universal ideas, and the powers of deduction and induction.

Dialectical materialism, so precious and popular among Communist thinkers, means the establishment and defense of such materialism in the field of social relations by a specific process of argumentation called dialectics, which Marx derived from Hegel and adapted to everyday economics. This form of reasoning approaches the subject which it is investigating by first regarding the object—or the process, or the fact—primarily for the purpose of discovering what its opposite or contradictory would, or will be. Then, by comparison of the opposing form thus discovered, one arrives at a satisfying knowledge of the nature of things. Lenin writes in one of his philosophical notebooks:

"The division of the One and the knowledge of its contradictory parts . . . is the essence of dialectics."
(Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XIII, p. 320.)

In a letter to Maxim Gorky, November 29, 1929, Lenin further wrote:

"By gad, the philosopher Hegel was right—life does progress by contradictions."

It would be tedious and irrelevant, requiring much more time than is now at our disposal, to rehearse here how Hegel applied this method to ideas, to being, to the mind, and to social forms. The result has been a most complicated and subtle metaphysics, now somewhat shopworn. The permanent element that was drafted to the service of social revolution by Marx is precisely the claim that all things pass through successive contradictory stages, tend to their opposite and finally emerge in some final and more perfect form which is, in essence, the negation of the form that immediately preceded it. Hence, reality is best understood by the negation of negatives. In the words of Adoratsky, Director of the Official Institute in Moscow, which interprets the thought of Marx, Engels and Lenin:

"Dialectical thinking is the opposite of metaphysics, which regards things and phenomena not in their unity and inter-relationship, but each separate from the other . . . not in motion . . ." (Dialectical Materialism, p. 30.)

For Aristotle and his school the important thing, the very starting point for reasoning about the table on which these lines are being written is the fact that it exists here and now as a wooden substance, formed to the accidental shape of a flat-topped desk. But equally or more important for Hegel is the fact that it once was a tree and one day will be dust or ashes. The same destiny, in varying degree, is true of all things. Each of them is a something headed for its contradictory, nothing. This perpetual becoming (*das werden*) not the present mode of being (*das ding an sich*) is the highest expression of reality. Hence, full knowledge of an object, be it thought, life, society, or the State, is attained when we know what it was, what it now temporarily is, and what it finally will be after its necessary evolution and triadic experiences. Lenin, in multitudinous ways throughout his voluminous writings, and in the detailed fashion that has become classic among Bolshevik propagandists, applied this methodology to the economic organization of society, particularly to Capitalism and Communism.

The process of discovering contradictories, he says, is the most scientific form of knowledge. Thus:

In Mechanics we have—Action and Reaction.

In Physics we have—Positive and Negative electricity.

In Chemistry we have—Combination and Disassociation of atoms.

In Astronomy we have—The attraction and repulsion of nebulae.

In Social Science we have—The conflict of opposing interests, resulting in Class Struggle and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

No knowledge, consequently, no literature, no art,

no scientific concept is worth wasting time with unless it bears on the class struggle and the eventual dictatorship of the indicated class. In fact, the only value of the Hegelian Dialectic for Marx and Lenin lies in its application to economic life and its consequent adaptability as an ideology to justify Communism. When Hegel permitted his reasoning to arrive even at a vague concept of Deity, Lenin pencilled on the margin of the text: "*swine*."

The argument of Marx and Lenin would run thus:

The primitive form of holding property was collectivism, in which there was one sole proprietor, the mass, the community. This would correspond to the *thesis* of the Hegelian cycle. In the course of time, the contradictory form was evolved, just as plant life springs from the corruption of seed life burgeoning into plant and flower and tree. Thus, private property arose as a corruption of the collective way of life (*antithesis*). The evolutionary process continues until inevitably, because of the contradictions and abuses of Capitalism, an opposite and contradictory-form is evolved, namely Communism (*synthesis*).

Communism, therefore, in the Hegelian-Marxian-Lenin dialectics, is the inescapable absolute, the final and the most perfect organization of human society. These are the stages through which Russia passed and through which all the world must pass, helped on, to be sure, by a revolutionary prod now and then from the Marxians, the Leninists, and the Stalinists, who conscientiously believe themselves to be only the elected instruments of destiny, auxiliaries in a pre-determined metamorphosis of endlessly evolving dynamic matter. For Hegel, the absolute was the Prussian State; for Lenin it was stateless proletarian dictatorship.

It is all very comforting for the initiated who have accepted the pre-destined doom of the existing social order and its inevitable transformation into a pattern agreeable to their conceptions. But it is sometimes embarrassing when Destiny falters, or drops asleep at her historic task. In the first place, there is an awkward moment in the early stages of the dialectical process as invoked by Marx and Lenin. It assumes that property by universal custom was collectively held and administered in the early stages of the race. Now Communism claims to be a scientific process and a rational method based upon facts, not on ideals or manifestations of a spiritual principle, both of which are stigmatized as "bourgeois prejudices." Very well. It should itself begin, then, with a historic fact—not with an imaginary condition of unproved incidence. Let us consult the science in question—the science of fact finding, History. Limiting ourselves—again scientifically—to the recorded facts, we find that private property in land and produced commodities was the normal form of ownership discernible as far back as the records reach. The institutions of the ancient Jews, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and

Sumerians, whether expressed in oral traditions, or folklore, on papyri, or cuneiform inscriptions, bear testimony to innumerable business and financial transactions that can only be explained by the fact of private ownership. No place is this clearer than in the code of Hammurabi. Such is the record of the monuments, the tablets, the inscriptions, and the manuscripts. The opposite assumption does summary violence to that very scientific attitude which Marxism glories in arrogating to itself.

The dogmatism of the formula, moreover, often suffers negation from more recent realities. In Italy, for example, in 1923, everything was moving in strict Marxian grooves, except that in the hour of synthesis the State fell, not into Communism, but into the outstretched hands of Mr. Mussolini and his Fascists, who are the very antithesis of Communists. Germany, too, in 1932, became dialectically ripe, only to fall into most un-Marxian hands, not into the outstretched arms of Moscow. Such embarrassing paradoxes are left unexplained by Soviet dialecticians, as they leave unexplained another extremely annoying question.

If this triadic process is inherent to all vital forms, including the State, and if perpetual evolution through contradiction is the dynamic law of life, why should societal evolution stop short at Communism? Who put the stop signal precisely there? Why is Communism the final term in a perpetual motion which is described as inherent? Does not the argument demand a degeneration, in due time, of the Communist form of social control and a reversion

to its opposite, which is private property? Echo still queries—Why? And who?

But your orthodox Bolshevik has an answer for all that, derived from his love for abusive language fortified by a richness of expletive and vituperation that was taught him by the master. I once made a catalogue of the favorite epithets used by Lenin to describe those who questioned the Marxian hypothesis. In a very limited number of pages one finds:

“boot-lickers of the capitalists, idlers, drones, loafers, tyrants, bullies, bosses, sweaters, exploiters, traitors, liars, despots, spoilers, grafters, robbers, swindlers, plunderers, thieves, and sneaks.

To the unresponsive masses unendowed with a sense of “gradualistic objective” he applied such descriptive terms as:

“slaves, serfs, bondsmen, cringers, crouchers, bone-heads, boobs, goats, dupes, duffers, fools, tools, prisoners, cat’s-paws, galley slaves, curs, cravens, dogs, and beasts of burden.”

All of which duplicates the finality of the reply given by that mule driver in the artillery regiment in France during the World War. He came from the mountains of Tennessee, and when his caisson stuck in the rich, clinging mud of the Argonne, he urged his mules forward with a Niagara of profanity that made the leaves tremble. A chaplain was hurrying past, and out of sheer curiosity he paused and asked the mule driver:

“George, where *did* you learn it?”

Who replied:

“Parson, it ain’t ever learned; it’s a gift!”



Marxism After Fifty Years

By HAROLD LASKI

From "Current History," March, 1933

IN THE fifty years that have passed since the death of Marx there has been an enlargement of his influence upon a scale it is impossible to overestimate. A doctrine which seemed to his own generation little more, for the most part, than the utopian madness of a revolutionary exile has become one of the seminal doctrines of the modern world. It stands forth today in the armed panoply of a State, and to millions his name awakens a sense of veneration and belief such as has been accorded in the past rather to the great religious figures than to the makers of a political philosophy. His words are cited in proof or disproof of social politics with something of the same credulous finality which attached to the citation of the Scriptures by the medieval schoolmen. Certainly there is no socialism save that of Marx of which the statesmen need take account in our time.

What is the explanation of the change? Why should the doctrines of a half-starved exile, hardly known in his own day outside the society of revolutionists, on the one side, and the secret police of half Europe, on the other, have become so living and essential a philosophy? Why should principles the refutation of which is part of the ordinary stock-in-trade of the academic social philosopher secure an immortality denied to Comte and Saint-Simon, to Proudhon and Fourier and John Stuart Mill? Why, to take a notable example, should analysts so calm and clear as the late Professor Veblen and Mr. J. M. Keynes recognize, even while they reject the doctrine, that there is no challenge so momentous to the structure of capitalist society, that while its victory may be uncertain, nothing less than a profound reorganization of that society is urgent if it is to meet the challenge successfully? How are we to explain, in a word, the emergence of this philosophy from being the creed of half-hidden revolutionary societies into a creed for which men are not less willing to dare prison and death than they have been for the great religions of the past epochs?

To understand the ethos of Marx's teaching we must separate it into its different categories. In part, it is a theory of value whereby he sought to explain how the workers are necessarily exploited under a capitalist system, whence accordingly there is in such a society an irreconcilable antagonism between the owners of the means of production and the masses. Historically, it is an attempt to explain the development of ideas and institutions in economic terms. Philosophically, this view is built

upon a purely materialist view of phenomena—human nature included—a view, it is interesting to note, which has important connections with the school of Holbach and Diderot. Politically, the doctrines of Marx resolve themselves into a defense of revolution as the only method by which the workers may hope to capture the State, and dictatorship is predicted as the method by which, the State having been captured, the workers so consolidate their authority as ultimately to build a classless society in which men at last enjoy equality and freedom.

I do not myself believe that the Marxian theory of value has, despite all the refinements of its advocates, stood the test of time. It was in its day a fair answer to the Ricardian school; but with the progress of economic doctrine its rehabilitation is no longer seriously possible. But it is worth while to note that its theoretic inadequacies have neither stood, nor are likely to stand, in the way of its acceptance by most of those who feel bitterly and suffer from the inadequacies of our present economic arrangements. For the professional economist the difference between profits and rent may be pivotal. To the poorly paid laborer it is irrelevant. What he sees is a world divided into those who have nothing to live by save the sale of their labor and those who live by ownership of capital and land. The first, in general, are poor and insecure; the second, again in general, are not. On the Marxian analysis that the owners of capital live by the surplus their laborers produce, the riches of the first are due to the poverty of the second. Labor, in a word, is robbed, and its surplus production is divided among a relatively small class of rich, and not seldom idle, men. Marx's theory of value appeals to him as a simple and direct explanation of his distressed condition; it summarizes with clarity the most poignant experience he knows. And in a period like our own, of commercial crisis, when wages are cut down on every side, the impact of capitalism upon the wage earner seems largely inexplicable to the latter except in Marxian terms. The worker then naturally moves from the acceptance of what I believe to be the theoretically inadequate doctrine of value to an acceptance of the philosophy which Marx constructed as its logical environment.

Here, as I think, the adequacy of his views is much more difficult to deny with justice. The greater the degree of complexity in the productive process, Marx argued, the fewer will be the number

of persons controlling its instruments. Everything contributes to this intensification. New means of communication are established, the problems of which the small capitalist cannot solve. Important inventions are beyond his financial means. Territorial consolidation increasingly destroys the local market in which he was once a privileged person. Overproduction means a growing army of reserve workers; the economies of large-scale production, alike in agriculture and industry, depress hitherto independent producers into the ranks of the wage earners. The capitalist system moves from a national to an international character; its market becomes the world. Its nature then involves such increasing centralization that the control of the forces of production by private persons is incompatible with social welfare, for alongside the development of accumulation is the increase of the proletariat. They become unable to endure the misery involved in the capitalist régime. They have learned a discipline from the training necessary to the mechanism of the process of which they are the victims. "The knell of capitalist private property then sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." To the great capitalist there succeeds the State, which is captured by the workers for their own purposes. The result of capitalism is, in short, its own destruction. The condition of its growth is that it should involve the laws which imply its inevitable ruin.

There is thus for Marx a necessary struggle between capital and labor inherent in the structure of a capitalist society. This view he derived from his philosophy of history. All its phenomena, he argued, are the outcome of changes in the character of the system of production. Each technique produces the ideas and institutions it requires for its maximum development. Law, religion, art, letters, science, each of these is shaped in its content by the dominant economic characteristics of the age. Marx, indeed, was not the first to urge this view, but he was the first to make it the foundation of all serious social analysis. Where he differed from many of those who accepted it was in the conclusions he drew from its meaning. "The only durable source of faction," wrote Madison, "is property," and for Marx the emergence of private property into history is the beginning of that class struggle which is the central explanation of the State.

Immediately society can be divided, Marx argued, into those who do and those who do not possess property in the means of production, a power is released which explains the changes of history, for the class which possesses property, at some given epoch, in its dominant form molds the civilization of that society in the service of its own interests. It controls the government; it makes the laws; it builds the institutions of the Commonwealth in the service of its own desires. Slave and freeman,

master and servant, these have been the eternal antitheses of history. With the advent of capitalism, the struggle is at once simplified and made more intense. Thenceforward, the final stage of the class war, the struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat, emerges. And just as each social order of the past has secreted within its womb the germ of its successor, as feudalism produced capitalism, so does the latter contain within itself the germ of its communist successor. "Capitalism," wrote Marx, "produces its own grave digger." The conflict, in his view, was an inevitable and bitter one, and it was bound in the fullness of time to result in the victory of the proletariat because capitalism could not solve its own contradictions. The bourgeoisie would fight, because no men surrender their privileges if they hope for a chance to retain them.

Revolution is therefore, according to Marx, the outcome of capitalism; the State must be overthrown by the workers because, in its present form, it is simply the executive committee of the capitalist class. A dictatorship of iron rigor will consolidate the new system until the period of transition has been effectively bridged; to trust to the institutions of bourgeois democracy would be to utilize the methods devised for its own protection by one régime for the service of another—which is historically impossible. Marx did not blind himself to what all this implied. The history of capitalism is the history of a relentless defense of each phase of the rights of property; they are always defended without regard to justice. There may be periods of concession, as in an epoch of expanding trade, but once any vital point is affected by the workers' demands, they are met, as in the French Revolution, by armed resistance. That means, of course, that communism can be realized only by deliberate armed intervention. The proletariat must seize the propitious moment to overthrow its masters; until that time comes they must do all in their power to disturb the existing régime.

And even if minor successes are achieved with the aid of the liberal-minded bourgeoisie "from the first hour of victory the workers must level their distrust against their former allies." They must create a working-class organization of their own, workers' committees, workers' councils, a strong Communist party, to oppose proletarian institutions and their influence to those of the middle-class liberal State. They must arm the proletariat and do all they can to cut down the army of the State as the chief weapon the bourgeoisie possesses. Where the workers are in the militia, they must form a secret organization within it to secure its control. Influential democrats must be discredited; strikes must inflame the proletarian consciousness. The old social order must, in a word, be attacked at every point. Communists have two functions only—to prepare for the revolution and to consolidate it when

it has been prepared. They must think of themselves not as realizing an ideal but only as setting free the elements of the new society concealed within the womb of the old.

The period of consolidation, further, is a period of iron dictatorship. Marx had no illusions about the possibility of democracy in such an hour. The ideals of freedom have no meaning in a crisis. Revolution provokes counter-revolution, and the victorious proletariat must safeguard itself against reaction. Revolution, in fact, demands of the revolutionary class that it secure its purpose by every means at its disposal. It has neither time nor opportunity for compassion or remorse; its business is simply to terrorize its opponents into acquiescence. It must disarm its opponents by execution, imprisonment, forced labor, control of the press. Revolution is war, and war is built on terror. The terrorism of capitalism must be used for the extinction of capitalism, for as capitalism has made of life itself the cheapest of commodities, there need be no repining at a sacrifice; the end is too great to be nice about the means employed. Nor would it be other than folly to introduce factors like democracy, consent, majority rule. These are utterly unreal in a capitalist society; they are merely the weapons used by the governing class to perpetuate its power. Communists must proceed upon the assumption that nothing matters save the enforcement of their will.

Marx wrote little upon the future Communist society; it was with the destruction of capitalism and the transition therefrom that he was mainly concerned. A new productive system was bound to involve new institutions which no man could foresee. That the Communist maxim, "From each according to his powers, to each according to his needs," would become operative was obvious; that effort would be measured in terms of labor time (a possibly inconsistent hypothesis) Marx took for granted. But he insisted that the future must take care of itself. He admitted that in the period of transition distribution would be unequal. We can, he knew, destroy by catastrophe, but creation is neither immediate nor spontaneous. He did not, therefore, set limits to the period of transition. It was necessary to wait until the habits formed by the new productive system created a psychology in which the Communist dogma of equality superseded the bourgeois dogma of individual rights. The main thing was to destroy a régime in which the private ownership of the means of production made possible the slavery of the many. It was possible to have confidence in an order where the whole force of social power was deliberately organized and planned so as to serve the common welfare.

This summary, bare as it is, indicates the direct relationship between the Marxian philosophy and the Bolshevik experiment. The Russian revolution,

in the hands of its supreme architects, Lenin and Trotsky, has been the detailed fulfillment, consciously planned and executed, of Marx's doctrine and Marx's strategy. No one can study its evolution objectively without recognizing how largely it was inevitable; and to have seized the inwardness of a social order with a penetration so magistral entitles Marx to rank as one of the great prophets of social philosophy.

But his title to eminence does not rest upon the Russian fulfillment alone. The crisis through which capitalist democracy is passing at the present time accords with the forecast he made. The power to produce without a parallel ability to distribute, the growth of unemployment, the increasing severity of economic crises, the conflicts of economic nationalism with their resolution by wars which issue into civil violence, the inability of parliamentary democracy to satisfy the demands of the masses, their consequent sense of its impotence to meet their problems, all these he marvelously foresaw. His insight enabled him to realize that the test of capitalist society was its ability to be continuously expanding, that once it became involved in its own contradictions it would go the way of all previous systems which failed to battle with, to adapt themselves to, their special environment. Unless in the years which lie immediately ahead there is a capitalist recovery as profound as its present distress, the erosion of its foundations is certain. And, in that event, the prophecies of Marx are not less likely to be fulfilled within the next half century in Europe and America than they have been in Russia.

There is, of course, a utopian element in Marx to which his followers do not always draw sufficient attention. There is a great oversimplification of the historical process; the struggle for justice is not ended by the creation of the classless society. Nor will the observer be tempted to admit, if he can maintain some measure of objectivity, that the victory of the proletariat is any more certain than the victory of men like Napoleon or Mussolini; the conditions of proletarian victory are, as the Russian experiment itself makes clear, of a very special character. It is far less easy where there is a middle class, trained in the profound psychology of bourgeois parliamentarism, than where, as in Russia, no such class exists, and it is always dubious except where, as in the aftermath of unsuccessful war, the armed forces of the State are demoralized. There is, too, in Marx an element of anarchism for which one must search for the origins in those eighteenth-century doctrines he inherited. He is so largely right in his analysis of the pre-Communist State that his adherents tend to miss the purely utopian character of his post-revolutionary speculations.

Like most magistral figures, moreover, his partisans tend to make him too unique and solitary a

figure in his time; his debts to his predecessors are large and too rarely acknowledged. He owed much in the realm of strategy to Babeuf and the Equals; there is nothing in his labor theory of value which is not stated by the early English Socialists; the *Communist Manifesto*, brilliant though it is, owes much to Considérant, while Saint-Simon had seen with hardly less insight the doctrine of the class war and its roots in the economic conditions of the time.

What is epoch-making in Marx is the sweep of his synthesis, the ability to put a great mass of disparate materials upon a single plane. It is true to say of him that he found socialism a conspiracy and left it a movement. With the eye of genius he perceived that individualist liberalism was a temporary phase, that the essential struggle of the future lay between conservatism in the larger sense and socialism. He provided the latter with a program and a philosophy more rooted in the objective facts that it encounters than any alternative of which we have knowledge.

That is not all. In Marx's hands socialism became more than a philosophy; it became also a religion. We shall not understand the character of his influence unless we realize that its hold over its devotees is only comparable to that of the great historic faiths of the past. Each has its creed, its dogmas, its priests, its martyrs, and it is not blasphemy but a sober statement of fact to say that a belief in the inevitability of the proletarian revolution is as vital to the devout Communist as was a belief in the Second Coming to a Christian of the first century. The Marxian philosophy has been able to obtain from its adherents a devotion as compelling as Roman Catholicism from the Society of Jesus. Lenin and Ignatius Loyola had not a little of the same fanatic and architectonic genius. And about the righteousness of the Marxian tenets there clings an unmistakable air of infallibility. The power and strength of this dogmatic confidence in a period when a faith in capitalism is at a discount, even among its own supporters, do not need any emphasis.

It may be said that the success of the Marxian scheme can be effected only at a cost which would destroy over a long period the essential values of civilization. To this there are at least two sufficient answers. To prove that it is a gospel of despair does not make it any the less objectively accurate as a generalization, and it is of course notable, on the other side, that Soviet Russia, which has paid a heavy price for the establishment of its authority, is the one country in the world today in the life of which a mood of exhilaration can be detected. The second, and more important, is the need of capitalism to respond to the challenge of communism by proving the rapidity and permanence of its recuperative power. "Reform if you would preserve," said Macaulay in 1832, "is the watchword of great events." No capitalist society can survive that is not able so deliberately to plan the civilization it supports as to be immensely and continuously successful. Otherwise, its stark contrasts afford to its competitor exactly the kind of material upon which in the long run challenge may be successfully based, for those contrasts are inexplicable in terms of reason, and a society incapable of achieving rational foundations must sooner or later become the oppressive antithesis of justice.

Whatever the defects of Marx, a passion for justice was the predominant motive of his life. He may have hated too strongly; he was morbidly jealous; he was excessively proud. But he understood that revolutions are not an accident in history. He saw that their immediate occasion is always the fact that their rulers have become intolerable to the mass of men. He gave to the working class a formula by which in appropriate circumstances they might find the secret of their emancipation. He added to the philosophy of social evolution a contribution which only genius of the first order could have made. Our understanding of history, our grasp of social causation, is abundantly more profound in the light of his work. There is no political thinker of the nineteenth century whose ideas continue to exert a greater influence today.

The Significance of Bolshevism

By CHRISTOPHER DAWSON

From "The American Review," April, 1933

THE economic crisis of the last two years has proved a godsend to the Bolsheviks. The years of the New Economic Policy in Russia and of the post-War boom in the West were a time of disappointment and trial for the leaders of the Communist Party. Fortunately for them the launching of the second Communist offensive in Russia—the Five-Year Plan—coincided with the apparent collapse of the capitalist system in the West and has revived the hopes of world revolution which for a time had been abandoned. Above all, these hopes are concentrated on the approaching dissolution of the British Empire, which the Bolsheviks regard not without reason as the chief element of cohesion in the divided ranks of their enemies. Today Trotsky writes: "Only a blind man could fail to see that Great Britain is headed for gigantic revolutionary earthquake shocks in which the last fragments of her conservatism, her world domination, her present state machine, will go down without a trace."

These hopes are encouraged by the mood of fatalism and despair that is so common in Western countries. Professed Communists may be few enough, but everywhere we find intellectuals who are fascinated by the grandiose projects of Communist state planning and who feel that the social and economic system of Western Europe neither deserves nor is able to surmount its present crisis.

What is the reason for the success—even though it be only a relative success—of Bolshevism; for the way in which it has maintained itself essentially unchanged through all the vicissitudes of the Revolution and the Civil War, the New Economic Policy and the Five-Year Plan; above all, for the attraction that it seems to exercise not only for the discontented and the disinherited proletariat, but also for the disinterested idealist? This is the question that a young German sociologist, Dr. Waldemar Gurian, has attempted to answer in an important book that has recently been translated into English¹ and *he has succeeded better than any other writer that I know in getting to the root of the matter and revealing the essential nature of the Bolshevik régime.* For Bolshevism is not a political movement that can be judged by its practical aims and achievements, nor is it an abstract theory that can be understood apart from its historical context. It differs from other contemporary movements above all by its organic unity, its fusion of theory and

practice, and by the way in which its practical policy is bound up with its philosophy. In a world of relativity and scepticism it stands for absolute principles; for a creed that is incarnate in a social order and for an authority that demands the entire allegiance of the whole man. The Bolshevik ideology, writes Dr. Gurian,

"has been transformed from a philosophy consciously learned and imposed on life from without into a concrete living force, a national outlook, which unconsciously, implicitly, and spontaneously determines and moulds all men's judgments and opinions.

"These revolutionaries are not simply politicians satisfied with the possession of power. They regard themselves as bearers of a gospel which shall bring to humanity the true redemption from its sufferings, the imperfections of its earthly existence.

"It is precisely in this respect that Bolshevism is superior to the sceptical, relativist and purely opportunist political and social attitude so common in the outside world. It claims to represent immutable principles. Though it regards earthly existence, the economic and social organisation, as the final end of human life, it follows this belief with a zeal and a devotion that give it the appearance of a religion, in comparison with which the frequent panegyrics of man's spiritual freedom and dignity which carry with them no practical obligation appear worthless and hollow. It is therefore impossible to combat Bolshevism with arguments of a purely opportunist kind."

And, in the same way, the Communist party has little resemblance to a political party in the ordinary sense of the word. It is a voluntary organization only in the same sense as is a religious order. Its members are bound by a rigid and impersonal discipline, but they are not the servants of the state, for the state itself is their instrument. It is true that they regard themselves as the representatives and trustees of the proletariat, but it would be a great mistake to suppose that they think it their business to obey the wishes of the working class, as the democratic politician fulfils the mandate of his electors. The proletariat they serve is a mystical entity—the universal church of the Marxian believer—and the actual populace is an unregenerate mass which it is their duty to guide according to the principles of the true faith. The Communist is not a representative of the people: he is the priest of an idea.

Consequently the triumph of Bolshevism was not a triumph of the popular will over Tsarist tyranny, or of revolutionary enthusiasm over conservative order. It was the victory of authority and discipline over democratic idealism and individualism. As we see clearly enough in the first volume of Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*, it was the vic-

¹ *Bolshevism: Theory and Practice*, translated by E. I. Watkin. (Sheed & Ward. \$2.50.)

tory of a few men who knew what they wanted and allowed nothing to stand in their way over a vast majority that was driven to and fro by the uncertainty of the politicians and the passions of the mob. It was, above all, the victory of one man—Lenin—the most remarkable personality that the age produced.

The age of the great war was an age of iron, but it gave birth to no military genius and no great statesman; its political leaders were men of paper. The one man of iron that the age produced arose from the most unlikely quarter that it is possible to conceive—from among the fanatics and revolutionary agitators who wandered about the watering places of Switzerland and Germany conspiring ineffectually and arguing with one another. To the practical politicians, even those of the Socialist party, Lenin was nothing but an ineffective visionary. Kerensky himself at first seems to have regarded him with condescending tolerance as a man who “knew nothing, who had lived apart from the world and viewed everything through the glasses of his fanaticism.”

Certainly Lenin was a fanatic, but he was a fanatic who had no illusions about himself or others and who was as ready to learn from experience as the most opportunist of practical politicians. Nothing could be more unlike the popular idea of a revolutionary leader than this simple and even commonplace man who derided idealism and hated fine phrases, and who, in his own words, “always kept a stone in his pockets” in dealing with his fellow-men. He was the complete antithesis of Trotsky, the man of words, and it shows his power of self-suppression that he should have worked so long with a man whose nature was so utterly alien to his own, because he was a useful asset to the revolutionary cause.

But Lenin's cynicism and hatred of “idealism” must not lead us to suppose that he undervalued ideas. He was above all a man of theory and he differed from the average Socialist leader, both among the Bolsheviks and outside the party, in his insistence on the philosophical absolutism of the communist creed. “We must realize,” he wrote in 1922, “that neither the natural sciences nor even a materialism that lacks solid philosophical foundations is capable of carrying on the struggle against the onslaught of bourgeois ideas and preventing the re-establishment of the bourgeois *Weltanschauung*. If this contest is to be waged victoriously, the scientist must be a materialist of our time, that is to say, a conscious adherent of the materialism represented by Marx: in other words, a dialectical materialist.” And even Marx by himself was not enough, since he held that without Hegel Marx's *Kapital* is unintelligible. Hegel and Marx are the Old and New Testaments of the Bolshevik dispensation, and neither of them can stand without the other. No

amount of practical success can justify the sacrifice of a jot or a tittle of this revelation, and it is better to postpone the immediate realization of Communism as a working system (as Lenin actually did by the New Economic Policy), rather than to imperil the orthodoxy of the picked minority that forms the spiritual foundation of the whole system.

Thus the Communist system, as planned and largely created by Lenin, was a kind of *atheocracy*, a spiritual order of the most rigid and exclusive type, rather than a political order. The state was not an end in itself, it was an instrument, or, as Lenin himself puts it, “simply the weapon with which the proletariat wages its class war—a *special sort of bludgeon, nothing more.*”

Nothing could be more characteristic of Lenin's inhuman simplicity and directness than this sentence: for, unlike his Western admirers, Lenin was never afraid to call a bludgeon a bludgeon.

To the western mind such an attitude may seem shocking or even inconceivable, just as does the Bolshevik conception of law and the judiciary system as a weapon to be wielded by the dictatorship for political ends. But it must be recognized that it has roots deep in Russian character and in Russian history. Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great also regarded the state as a bludgeon and dealt with the Boyars and the Old Believers as mercilessly as Lenin dealt with the bourgeois and the Kulaks. It seems as though it were the fate of the vast, slow-moving masses of the Russian people to be periodically bludgeoned into activity by the ruthless energy of their rulers. Trotsky himself fully recognizes this feature of the Russian development. “A backward culture,” he writes, “is forced to make sudden leaps under the whips of external necessity”; and his first chapter is a commentary on those words of Vico: “The Tsar of Muscovy, although a Christian, rules over a lazy-minded people.”

But all this does nothing to explain the attraction of the Bolshevik experiment for certain elements in the West. If it were simply a question of *catching up* with capitalist Europe, as Trotsky almost seems to suggest, Western Europe has no more reason to disturb itself than it did in the past. After all, nobody in the West thought of idealizing Ivan the Terrible or even Peter the Great. The fact is that while Bolshevism is in the concrete a Russian phenomenon, its theoretic basis and its absolute claims have given it a much wider significance than any purely national revolution could have. It reflects in the distorted and exaggerated medium of Russian society a crisis that is common to the whole of the modern world. As primitive peoples succumb more easily than white men to the diseases of civilization, so the spiritual maladies of European civilization become more deadly in a simpler social environment. The influence of revolutionary ideas, the loss of spiritual order, the substitution of private interests

for public authority and of individual opinions for social beliefs are factors common to the modern world, but the Western peoples have been in some degree immunized by two centuries of experience and they have hitherto been able to preserve their social stability in spite of the prevalence of subversive ideas. In Russia, however, this was not the case. The Russian bourgeoisie possessed in an exaggerated form all the weaknesses of their Western counterparts. They were a source of weakness rather than of strength to the social order, which they undermined spiritually at the same time that they exploited it economically. They showed a platonic sympathy for every kind of subversive ideal, and even the Bolsheviks themselves received financial support from prominent industrialists, such as Sava Morosov. Above all, it is in Russia that we can study in its purest form the phenomenon of an intelligentsia—that is to say, an educated class—that is entirely detached from social responsibilities and that provides a seed bed for the propagation of revolutionary ideas. It was not from the peasants or the industrial proletariat, but from the ranks of the lesser nobility and the bourgeois intelligentsia that the leaders of the revolutionary and terrorist movement arose from the time of Herzen and Bakunin to that of Lenin himself.

Hence it is not surprising that the same society that has seen the most extreme development of the subversive elements in bourgeois culture should also produce the most extreme type of reaction against that culture. The disintegration of bourgeois society has worked itself out to its logical conclusion and has given place to a movement in the reverse direction. The futility and emptiness of Russian bourgeois existence as described, for instance, by Chekhov, or still earlier in Goncharov's *Oblomov*, is such that any régime which offers a positive and objective end of life becomes attractive. Man cannot live in a spiritual void; he needs some fixed social standards and some absolute intellectual principles. Bolshevism at least replaces the spiritual anarchy of bourgeois society by a rigid order and substitutes for the doubt and scepticism of an irresponsible intelligentsia the certitude of an absolute authority embodied in social institutions. It is true that the Bolshevik philosophy is a poor thing at best. It is philosophy reduced to its very lowest terms, a philosophy with a minimum of spiritual and intellectual content. It impoverishes life instead of enriching it, and confines the mind in a narrow and arid circle of ideas. Nevertheless, it is enough of a philosophy to provide society with a theoretical basis, and therein lies the secret of its strength. The lesson of Bolshevism is that any philosophy is better than no philosophy, and that a régime which possesses a principle of authority, however misconceived it may be, will be stronger than a system that rests on the

shifting basis of private interests and private opinions.

And this is the reason why Bolshevism with all its crudity constitutes a real menace to Western society. For although our civilization is stronger and more coherent than that of pre-War Russia, it suffers from the same internal weakness. It needs some principle of social and economic order and yet it has lost all vital relation to the spiritual traditions on which the old order of European culture was based. As Dr. Gurian writes: "Marxism, and therefore Bolshevism, does but voice the secret and unavowed philosophy of the bourgeois society when it regards society and economics as the absolute. It is faithful, likewise, to its morality when it seeks to order this absolute, the economic society, in such a way that justice, equality and freedom, the original war cries of the bourgeois advance, may be the lot of all." The rise of the bourgeoisie and the evolution of the bourgeois society have made economics the centre of public life." And thus: "Bolshevism is at once the product of the bourgeois society and the judgment upon it. It reveals the goal to which the secret philosophy of that society leads, if accepted with unflinching logic." At first sight this criticism of the bourgeois society seems unjust, in view of the great services that it has rendered to civilization during the last two centuries. It may be plausibly argued that the faults of the bourgeois are no greater than those of the leading classes in other ages, while his virtues are all his own. But the fact remains that the typical leaders of bourgeois society do not arouse the same respect as that which is felt for the corresponding figures in the old régime. We instinctively feel that there is something honourable about a king, a noble, or a knight which the banker, the stockbroker or the democratic politician does not possess. A king may be a bad king, but our very condemnation of him is a tribute to the prestige of his office. Nobody speaks of a "bad bourgeois," the Socialist may indeed call him a "bloody bourgeois," but that is a set formula that has nothing to do with his personal vices or virtues.

This distrust of the bourgeois is no modern phenomenon. It has its roots in a much older tradition than that of socialism. It is equally typical of the mediaeval noble and peasant, the romantic Bohemian and the modern proletarian. The fact is that the bourgeoisie has always stood somewhat apart from the main structure of European society, save in Italy and the Low Countries. While the temporal power was in the hands of the kings and the nobles and the spiritual power was in the hands of the Church, the bourgeoisie, the Third Estate, occupied a position of privileged inferiority which allowed them to amass wealth and to develop considerable intellectual culture and freedom of thought with-

out acquiring direct responsibility or power.² Consequently, when the French Revolution and the fall of the old régime made the bourgeoisie the ruling class in the West, it retained its inherited characteristics, its attitude of hostile criticism towards the traditional order and its enlightened selfishness in the pursuit of its own interests. But although the bourgeois now possessed the substance of power, he never really accepted social responsibility as the old rulers had done. He remained a private individual—an *idiot* in the Greek sense—with a strong sense of social conventions and personal rights, but with little sense of social solidarity and no recognition of his responsibility as the servant and representative of a super-personal order. In fact, he did not realize the necessity of such an order, since it had always been provided for him by others, and he had taken it for granted.

This, I think, is the fundamental reason for the unpopularity and lack of prestige of bourgeois civilization. It lacks the vital human relationship which the older order with all its faults never denied. To the bourgeois politician the electorate is an accidental collection of voters; to the bourgeois industrialist his employees are an accidental collection of wage earners. The king and the priest, on the other hand, were united to their people by a bond of organic solidarity. They were not individuals standing over against other individuals, but parts of a common social organism and representatives of a common spiritual order.

The bourgeoisie upset the throne and the altar, but they put in their place nothing but themselves. Hence their régime cannot appeal to any higher sanction than that of self-interest. It is continually in a state of disintegration and flux. It is not a permanent form of social organization, but a transitional phase between two orders.

This does not, of course, mean that Western society is inevitably doomed to go the way of Russia, or that it can find salvation in the Bolshevik ideal of class dictatorship and economic mass civilization. The Bolshevik philosophy is simply the *reductio ad absurdum* of the principles implicit in bourgeois culture and consequently it provides no real answer to the weaknesses and deficiencies of the latter. It takes the nadir of European spiritual development for the zenith of a new order.

The bourgeois culture in spite of its temporary importance is nothing but an episode in European history. This is why the current Socialist opposition of Communist and bourgeois society is in reality a false dilemma. Western civilization is not merely the civilization of the bourgeois; it is the old

civilization of Western Christendom that is undergoing a temporary phase of disorganization and change. It owes its strength not to its bourgeois politics and economics, but to the older and more permanent elements of its social and spiritual tradition. In no country, save perhaps in the United States, does the bourgeois culture exist in the pure state as a self-subsistent whole. England, above all, which seems at first sight to be the most thoroughly bourgeois society of all, has in reality never possessed a bourgeoisie in the true sense. Its ruling class down to modern times was agrarian in character and incorporated considerable elements of the older aristocratic tradition. Ever since Tudor times it was the aim of the successful merchant to "found a family" and leave the city for the country, and even the city man remained to a great extent a countryman at heart, as we see as late as the Victorian period in Surtees's *Jorrocks*. The English Nonconformists did indeed possess a tradition of cultural separatism analogous to that of the continental bourgeoisie; but even they were not put bourgeois, since their basis of social unity was a religious and not an economic one.

In the same way the government in England has never been completely transformed by the bourgeois revolution, but still preserves the monarchical principle as the centre of national solidarity and order.

And the same state of things exists in varying degrees in every Western state. Even France, which politically is an almost pure type of bourgeois culture, is sociologically far from simple and owes its strength to the delicate equilibrium that it has established between two different social types—the peasant and the bourgeois—and two opposite spiritual traditions—that of the Catholic Church and that of the Liberal Enlightenment.

Consequently, it is impossible to solve the problem of Western society by disregarding the social and spiritual complexity of European civilization. Bourgeois civilization is not the only European tradition, and Rousseau and Marx are not the only European thinkers. The new order must be conceived not in terms of bourgeois exploiter and exploited proletarian, but as a unity that incorporates every element in European culture and that does justice to the spiritual and social as well as to the economic needs of human nature. In Russia such a solution was impossible owing to the profound gulf that divided the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia with their imported Western culture from the governmental tradition of Byzantine autocracy and Orthodoxy and from the peasant culture of a semi-barbaric peasantry. But Western civilization is still fundamentally homogeneous. Our intelligentsia has not entirely lost its roots in a common spiritual order, and our bourgeoisie is not entirely divorced from social responsibility. It is still not too late to restore the integrity of European culture on the

² The same conditions obtained in a highly accentuated form in the case of the Jews, who are, so to speak, bourgeois *par excellence*, and this explains how it is that the East European Jew can adapt himself so much more rapidly and successfully than his Christian neighbour to modern bourgeois civilization.

basis of a comprehensive and Catholic order. We must go back to an older and more fundamental social tradition and to a wider and more perennial philosophy, which recognize the depth and complexity of human nature and the existence of a moral order that must govern political and economic relations no less than private behaviour. As Dr. Gurian says, Bolshevism itself is an unintentional

and therefore most impressive witness to the existence of such an order, since its attempt to treat society as a closed and self-sufficient order has led not to Utopia but to tyranny. Man is first mutilated by being deprived of some of his most essential activities, and this maimed and crippled human nature is made the standard by which civilization and life itself are judged.

Soviet Brutality

*From an address by President Angell, of Yale University, to the
Graduates of 1935, delivered on June 16, 1935.*

"Russian communism, ostensibly the child of the social-economics of Marx, is the bitter enemy of all religion, and yet it involves a distorted ethics which has been accepted with an essentially fanatical fervor. It has been everywhere promulgated as a cult for the relief of the oppressed and the destruction of the oppressor. It has thus appealed to the deep-seated human instinct of sympathy for the underdog. Its disciples maintain that only in accordance with its provisions can each worker be assured of sustenance and reasonable comfort without the exploitation of other workers.

"Once its crucial premise is granted, that because of its allegedly peculiar social function only the proletariat should be allowed to flourish, all the rest follows with more or less logical cogency. To divide the fruits of agriculture and industry among the laborers, to crush any competing class, employing ruthless brutality if necessary to achieve this end—all this and innumerable other equally repellent social corollaries ensue forthwith.

"The Communist conscience is apparently no wise disturbed by the fact that a small self-appointed fraction of the population exercises autocratic control, determines what promotes and what retards national interest, determines who shall live, be educated and multiply, and who shall be exiled, starved and sterilized.

"A nationalism built on these class lines, nominally egalitarian and altruistic within the party, but savagely discriminatory once the proletarian line is crossed, has been sublimated by the power of clever propaganda into a sentimental creed ablaze with the ethics of patriotism—and quite unperturbed by the fact that the achievement of its ends has been accompanied by the commission of most of the crimes in the moral calendar.

"It is almost a work of supererogation to point out the consequences of this system for the higher spiritual qualities of humanity. Grant for the sake of argument what few competent economists would admit, that a sound national industry and agriculture can be built on these foundations, it is clear that in its present form at least it involves the complete destruction of freedom of thought and expression and that its ethics outrage most of the traditions and lores of folk of our stock.

"Its cruelty is Oriental and its political philosophy is dogmatic and intolerant. Only those in agreement can be heard, and to dissent is to invite exile at the best and unspeakable punishment at the worst. Brutality is of its essence, and its most enthusiastic advocates regard as contemptible weaklings those who demur to such barbarism. The Medicis could have taught these gentry little."

Nikolai Lenin

By GAMALIEL BRADFORD
From HARPER'S MAGAZINE, July, 1930

NIKOLAI LENIN lived and died with one paramount object, to overturn the world organization of society in such a way that wealth, leisure, and the means of happiness should not be confined to a small class, but should be fairly distributed among the vast masses who perform the useful labor of the world. Whether such an object is in any way attainable, and whether Lenin's methods could ever be really effective or justifiable for attaining it may well be questioned. But such question does not come with the best grace from one who has profound sympathy with Lenin's aims but who has himself always been a thoroughgoing parasite of the capitalist system which Lenin so energetically condemned and who feels that his sole claim to the benefits of such parasitism is the fact of possession, to which he clings with an obstinacy exactly proportioned to the frailty of its tenure. All that is attempted here is a thorough and searching analysis of the soul of Nikolai Lenin himself.

Lenin, whose real name was Vladimir Ilyitch Ulianov, was born in Simbirsk, southeastern Russia, in 1870, of a fairly well-to-do family, which had made its way into the minor nobility from the peasant class. His dreaming youth was concentrated and crystallized by the execution of his adored elder brother in 1887 for attempted assassination of the Tzar, and this is said to have been the origin of Ilyitch's relentless, lifelong effort to overthrow tyranny and give the lowly and downtrodden the dominion of the earth. His determined agitation with this view naturally made him obnoxious to the imperial government. He was watched, arrested, sent to Siberia for three years, and then kept in wandering exile all over Europe, during which he worked into connection and gradual leadership with many whose passions and tendencies were similar. He took an active, if not the most prominent part in the Russian Revolution of 1905, only to be exiled for another ten years of equal agitation. Finally the Great War brought his opportunity. Under the Kerensky régime he returned to Russia in 1917, and by skilful manipulation and fortunate circumstances he found himself at the head of the government with an authority over millions unsurpassed by that of any tzar or Mussolini or Napoleon. The sudden, tremendous, overwhelming contrast between past and present is nowhere better indicated than in his brief remark to Trotsky immediately after the acquisition of power: "The transition from the stage of illegality, being driven in every direction, to power—

is too rough: it makes one dizzy." And he made the sign of the Cross before his face.

A question at once arises as to the motives which were the driving force behind this forthright and overmastering life career, but their complexity is almost beyond disentanglement. Lenin's admirers insist that personal ambition was no motive with him at all. They say that he forgot himself altogether and lived simply in absolute devotion to a great cause, that he cared nothing for glory or display or the outside trappings of power. As if history had not proved to us again and again that the most furious love of power shows itself in just the disdain of the outward manifestation of it! There is no madder or more engrossing ambition than that of making over the world.

The first forty years of Lenin's life were simply years of preparation for the marvelous six years, from 1918 until his death, when he was master of Russia. During those forty years he was scheming, dreaming—"one must have something to dream of," he wrote in the early days—reading, sometimes twelve to fifteen hours a day, laying vast plans for all possible contingencies. It was the entire concentration and supreme erection of a life upon one devouring purpose and hope.

And he came across the writings of Karl Marx. What he would have been without Marx it is impossible to say, but it is obvious that Marx made Lenin intellectually. He spent many hours in the assiduous perusal of Marx's works, in the ardent digestion of them, and in working them over, with apparently little modification, in far vaster writing of his own. The cardinal principle of Marx is of course the tireless, ceaseless, remorseless war between the proletariat and the capitalist bourgeoisie, war which must be carried on by ruthless means and which can end only in the complete victory and permanent domination of the working classes. It is true that the somewhat cloudy German metaphysics of Marx are susceptible of varied interpretations, and many of his followers see things differently from Lenin. But the Russian agitator liked simplicity, and the Marxian attitude, reduced to its simplest form, was quite adequate for him in the building of a life philosophy and a world administration. He taught Marx, he preached Marx, he lived Marx, and as soon as ever he got the chance, he acted Marx with a venomous realism which would have astonished his master and perhaps a little bewildered him.

For it cannot be denied that destruction—to over-

throw, to tear down, to uproot—was a primitive instinct in Lenin's disposition. When he came to exercise command he was mercilessly arbitrary and authoritative; but, like many such people, he bitterly hated to be repressed and commanded himself. He seized upon "Revolution," the watchword of his master, Marx, and made it the guiding principle of his life. A hundred years earlier Thomas Paine joyously drank a toast to the ideal revolution of the world. Lenin strove to make the ideal a reality. After overturning Russia he schemed to overturn all Europe, America, and Asia; and it is possible that even yet his schemes may come to fruit.

After which, it must be admitted that the man thought of construction as well as destruction. When you had torn down the old, worn-out fabric of bourgeois statecraft something must be substituted; and he planned long and elaborately and wrote thousands of pages explaining how the dictatorship of the proletariat could be and would be established and what mighty wonders it would accomplish for the regeneration of the world. In all these pages, as in the speculations of the master, Marx himself, there is a terrible dry, musty savor of German doctrinaire metaphysics, a hard, logical theorizing, which somehow does not suggest any very immediate practical connection with fact. Take the statement: "But, striving for Socialism, we are convinced that it will develop further into Communism, and side by side with this there will vanish all need for force, for the subjection of one man to another, of one section of society to another, since people will grow accustomed to observing the elementary conditions of social existence without force and without *subjection*." Beside this sort of thing mere destruction had a convenient definiteness which was perfectly practical; and anyway, the destruction had to come first.

So it went on for the forty years of preparation. Then in 1918 the man leaped into absolute power, and a great administrator was born. Some writers express amazement at the sudden change, at the difference between the dreaming Lenin of earlier years and the doer of later. But it is probable, as manifest, that the doer was the real man, and was simply waiting his chance. At any rate, when the door of opportunity was flung open the great executive swept through it with magnificent *éclat*. All the qualities of a statesman shone out in him. He loved to manipulate men's souls and sorted and sifted and shifted them till they all fitted together for his purposes.

It seems extraordinary that a man of fifty, who had never really managed great affairs, should develop such statesmanlike capacity; but it should be remembered that the experience of Cæsar and of Cromwell was the same. This man had the doer's magnificent self-confidence, which some of us find it almost as hard to imagine as to share. He liked to

make difficult decisions. Supposing he did not always make them rightly—could others make them better? He liked the responsibility for the welfare and the ill-fare of others, which to more timid souls is simply intolerable. This superb doer realized perfectly well that he made mistakes, and he did not hesitate to confess them. He knew that he was big enough and strong enough to come before his followers and say, "He who finds himself in a blind alley must turn back; he who has done a thing wrongly must begin it over again. This business has to be learned and not until then shall we endure the test or win out in the race." So arguing, he reversed his course and adopted the New Economic Policy, which recognized the necessity of combining the abhorred methods of Capitalism with working Communism to some extent and temporarily. And his frankness, his energy and, above all, his winning persuasiveness were sufficient to carry his followers with him anywhere.

Perhaps the supreme test of greatness is growth, adaptability, the power of fitting soul to circumstance, and certainly this power was Lenin's in a high degree. "The art of government cannot be got out of books," he cried. "Try, make mistakes, learn how to govern." He is constantly reiterating the imperative necessity of keeping close to *life*: "Such questions are answered *only* by life itself." In this respect he might perhaps be called an opportunist, but it would be cruel to call him so, since some of the harshest epithets in his rich vocabulary of abuse are attached to this very word, opportunist, in the sense of the man who always keeps his ear to the ground, who is trying to curry popular favor and to catch the slightest veering wind of temporary prejudice so that he may trim his sails to it. In contrast to this cheap and shallow opportunism, I would rather call Lenin's disposition "vitalism"—the profound vitalism of a Cæsar, a Napoleon, or a Lincoln, which moves with far-reaching insight and dominating, prevailing purpose, yet constantly adapts and adjusts that purpose to the living, vital movement of human circumstance, always with the fixed determination of arriving at a long predestined goal.

How much of that goal Lenin would have reached it is impossible to say. His premature death left a chaos of which no man can yet foresee the end. But judging from his manifest abilities and from what he did accomplish in the face of superhuman difficulty, it is fair to assume the chance of his arriving at supreme achievement—as well as of grotesque failure.

II

Whatever might have been the possibilities of success or failure, it is evident that the man's whole existence was possessed, obsessed by the notion of making over life in an ideal mold. In this unyielding, unceasing fight for the Ideal, Lenin of course

had to have instruments, men and women; and not the least curious element in the study of him is his attitude towards these instruments. Naturally he had a vast acquaintance with them. His nomad existence had taken him into all sorts of society, had accustomed him to the habits and the manners of all classes of men. At the same time, all this human investigation was for a purpose. It was not a dispassionate scientific quest into the workings of the human heart, but a persistent classifying of all men according to their utility for the one great object. All these flitting, fleeting, shadowy, manifold creatures were just simply incarnate bourgeois or the embodied proletariat: they were labeled, treated, employed, and to be disposed of merely as such.

The result seems to have been a considerable contempt for mankind as a whole. "I got the impression that he despises a great many people and is an intellectual aristocrat," says so acute an observer as Bertrand Russell. And if he had not a high opinion of mankind in general, he was no more enthusiastic about the large mass of his own countrymen. There may be some exaggeration in his reported saying, that "for every honest Bolshevik there are thirty-nine scoundrels and sixty fools," but it probably represents the fruits of bitter experience in many respects.

The curious, the interesting thing is the patent contradiction between this general contempt for mankind as a whole and Russian mankind in particular and the fact that Lenin's whole theory of government, his complete political idea rested on the intelligence and competence and utility of the masses for political ends. The working class, the common people, were to govern, were to show the despised and selfish bourgeoisie that they could govern with intelligence, with honesty, with efficiency. Give them training, give them education, give them persistent, enlightened self-discipline, and they would work out the problem for themselves. If they could not, no one could.

In the meantime somebody must work it out for them. It is fascinating to watch the delicate and subtle process by which this *somebody* was gently insinuated into the working of the huge political machine which Lenin attempted to establish. First of all, it was to be the dictatorship of the proletariat. If you listened to his words and read his writings you would suppose that the vast mass of the people in the factories and the fields were just taking over the machinery of government in their neatly graded soviets, or popular assemblies, and running it themselves for their own benefit. Then, if you looked more closely, you would discover that the guiding force was the comparatively small Communist Party, perhaps half a million or so out of the whole hundred millions. But all the force and inspiration of the said Communist Party originated in a small circle of controlling spirits, and at the center of

these spirits, with his watchful eye on every movement and his guiding finger on every motive sat the one supreme authority, Nikolai Lenin, and the dictatorship of the Proletariat was just simply he and no one else.

But masses are made up of men, and must be treated individually, and no one knew this better than Lenin. From the time when he first went out into the world he studied men and women, their motives, their passions, their capacities, and always, persistently, with a view to what they could do for the great object that controlled his life. Innumerable brief observations and comments show how quick and how acute were his perceptions of human nature and human character.

Lenin not only judged men, he managed them, and in his intensely practical mind the judgment was merely preliminary to the management. With different agents his methods were different. Some must be handled by a gentle and persuasive suavity, by a hand laid on the shoulder, a finger on the arm. Others required strict and systematic logical treatment: you must convince them before you could lead them. With others again it was necessary to be purely commanding. They must be told what to do without too much explanation, and they would do it. And in the accomplishment of his great purpose no human means was to be despised or scorned. The Germans were the enemies of Russia, but if he could use their money or their support to save Russia, he would do it. Even the despised instruments of the old Tzarist police might be utilized if they could be paid to work for him. But undoubtedly the climax of his human triumph was the making elements so antagonistic as Stalin and Trotsky work together in harmony, so long as he led them, though they split and severed as soon as his control was taken away.

Even more significant for Lenin than his friends are his enemies, and heaven knows he had enough of them; for he hated right and left, with a most magnificent heartiness. The word *tolerance* did not exist for him. If you were not with him you were against him, and he was against you with all his soul. The Marxian antithesis between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat took hold of him early and never left him. The world was sharply divided into the two classes, and on the detested bourgeoisie he could not pour out enough of his anger and contempt. Yet even so it seems as if he had still more indignation and scorn for those who had been his friends than for his lifelong enemies. They had betrayed the Cause, they disagreed with Nikolai Lenin: how could there be any good in them?

He not only hated, but he vilified. If one may trust translation, his language of abuse was as richly varied as it was offensive. Those who differed from him were not only traitors, they were little better than scoundrels. Nor did he stop at words. When power came into his hands, he used it merci-

lessly, as is well known. The gentle methods of persuading and convincing were not, in his opinion, the instruments by which Revolution should triumph. He had read Sorel on Violence, not without profit. "There are 'revolutionaries,'" he cried, "who imagine we should complete the Revolution in love and kindness. Yes? Where did they go to school? What do they understand by dictatorship? What will become of a dictatorship if one is a weakling?" He did not propose to be a weakling, in that sense at any rate. And he shot and hanged and tortured and terrorized in the name of the Ideal.

It may be that this world must be made over from top to bottom. God knows in many respects it needs it. But is it necessary that the making over should be built on wrath, on hatred, and on revenge? Such was not the method of Jesus. But perhaps Jesus was thinking of a better world than this.

III

So we have considered Lenin's attitude towards the various human instruments who could help him in his purposes. Now let us turn to their attitude towards him. No aphorism is more surely established by the course of history than that hate breeds hate. Impress upon large masses of mankind that you loathe them, despise them, and condemn them, and they will reciprocate the feelings with abuse as bitter and savage as your own. Lenin literature, therefore, is quite as highly colored with animosity against him as any that he poured out against his foes.

As they branded his cruelty, so they emphasized his utter unscrupulousness. The undeniable Oriental strain, the suggestion of Tartar origin, was supposed to give him an incurable underhandedness, a complete indifference to means so long as the end could be attained. Such critics would apply to Lenin's disposition the words which he himself uses as to the Russian character in general: "What is peculiar to Russia is the tremendously rapid transition from savage violence to most subtle deception."

On the other hand, if you listen to Lenin's friends and admirers, you wonder if they can be discussing the same person; and you have to delve deep down into the roots of the human heart to search for the hidden compatibilities. He was simple, they say, straightforward; his earnest, genuine bearing and manner elicited confidence and at once rewarded it. Those who knew him, those who loved him—and many did—insist that he looked at things, looked at his great projects and ideals, always from the human angle. When he was in far Siberia he entered most intimately into the life of the people, studied their needs, studied their inarticulate desires, and when he became ruler over millions he had all these needs and desires written in his heart.

His enemies declared that he viewed life only in

mathematical formulas, that human passion and suffering were discounted. Yet there appear to be innumerable instances of his thoughtfulness for individuals. It is said that among Lenin's papers there are many documents which show this personal interest: "One directs that a certain worker is to be supplied with food, in another Lenin asks for new clothes for one workman or tries to provide a house for another, or medical treatment for a third." No doubt the overmastering Ideal came first, but it left room for a lot of human consideration behind it.

On one point friends and enemies are agreed, that is as to Lenin's vast, compelling influence over other men; though some regard the influence as beneficent and others as baleful. He could persuade, induce, allure. Even those who were hostile were somehow led to do what he wanted of them, almost before they knew what they were doing: "Nobody who has not seen Lenin or read his books can possibly imagine the force of that man's will and his intellectual authority. . . . Lenin took the whole responsibility for revolutionizing the Russian Empire, and the others faithfully and intelligently helped him as children help their father."

Again, he could put a compelling, commanding power into this treatment, could crush down opposing wills by sheer magnetic force. There is the story of the somewhat rebellious comrade who kept alleging the glorious part he had taken in the Revolution of 1905. "But Lenin took a step forward, not letting go my eyes, and said again, 'Yes, comrade, but what are you doing for *this* revolution?' It was like an X-ray—as if he saw all my deeds of the last ten years. I couldn't stand it. I had to look down like a guilty child. I tried to talk, but it was no use. I had to come away." Needless to say that this man's will became Lenin's.

As he could deal with men individually, so he had perhaps an even greater hold on them in the mass, could sway great bodies who heard or read his words in whatsoever direction he might desire. The accounts of his oratory are very curious. He certainly was not a magnetic speaker in the ordinary sense, had no flowing, golden periods, none of those overmastering effects which carry an audience off its feet for the moment, but afterwards evoke doubt as to their sincerity and their meaning. He was often heavy and awkward, especially at beginning. His short, stumpy figure, his shiny bald head, his somewhat stolid features were anything but impressive. But as he went on speaking and warmed to his work, his simplicity, his earnestness, his intense direct appeal to the passions of his auditors began to take hold, and having taken hold once, they never let go.

So there can be no doubt that this man was loved as ardently as he was hated, and he certainly impressed the shadow of his spirit upon the whole

vast empire of Russia, for good or for evil who shall say? How great the impress was is evidenced in the adoration which surrounds his embalmed body, as it is preserved and exhibited to-day, making his canonized memory, his patriotic achievements, and his mythical figure almost the center of a new religion, to replace the old one which he so vehemently demolished. Perhaps the most concrete expression of this developing worship is the tremendous eulogy registered in the declaration of the Soviet Congress at the time of Lenin's death: "His vision was colossal, his intelligence in organizing the masses was beyond belief. He was the greatest leader of all countries, of all times, and of all peoples. He was the lord of the new humanity, the savior of the world." After which one can but remember the thousands who were and are yearly being executed because they did not believe in Lenin or his ideas at all.

IV

So far we have studied Lenin in his public relations. Now let us turn to the consideration of his private and personal character and life, though he himself gives us little help in this, since he was always too busy and preoccupied for much self-analysis, at least in any records that I have discovered.

And first as to his personal dealings with humanity. In his family he seems to have been not only exemplary but attractive. As a child he was quiet and self-contained, an excellent, assiduous student, standing high in his classes in school and college, attentive to his duties, and not criticized in deportment except that his political tendencies made him an object of jealous watchfulness on the part of the government. He adored the dreaming, idealistic elder brother, who was executed. He was devoted to his mother as long as she lived, and he and his sister cherished a profound mutual affection.

I find extraordinarily little reference to Lenin's relation to women. There is no vestige whatever of early love affairs or any indication that women as such interested him in any way whatever. No doubt there were marked exceptions to this—there are in most men's lives—but they have left no traces here. Lenin married at a mature age, but it seems to have been rather a matter of comradely friendship than of romantic passion. His wife was an ardent Socialist, like himself, and they were brought together by a common enthusiasm. She with her mother followed him to Siberia, when they were engaged, and her account of their life is full of interest. In their further erratic, nomadic career she did her best to make him comfortable, and since his death she has borne loyal witness to his greatness and to his achievements. The most humanly characteristic anecdote that I have met with in regard to Lenin's matrimonial affairs is the story of the

expiring mother-in-law. Madame Lenin's mother was very ill and at the point of death. The exhausted daughter retired for a little while to get absolutely needed sleep, enjoining upon her husband to call her if there was any occasion. He assented, and worked away busily at his writing. The old lady passed away, and still Lenin wrote. When his wife came back, she reproached him bitterly: "I told you to call me if she needed me." "So I would have; but she did not need you: she was dead."

Lenin had no children of his own but was devoted to the children of others, loved to chat and play with them and devise sports for them. He had a singular tenderness for animals, also, especially cats, liked to pet them and fondle them. Madame Lenin tells us that, though he was a keen sportsman, he once spared a splendid fox when he had it right under his gun, and when she asked him why he didn't shoot, he answered, "I couldn't; it was too handsome."

Sometimes stories were circulated, especially abroad, that Lenin made money out of his political advancement, or at least that he indulged himself in luxurious, extravagant, dissipated living. There seems no question but that this was utterly unjust. The man was too immensely absorbed by the one great interest of life to care for minor indulgences of any kind; indeed, it seems as if he had little personal taste for such indulgences. Carrying out literally his political theory, that the highest officials should be paid just like ordinary workingmen, he accepted only the most moderate salary, and his living expenses were far within the limits of the salary he had. His household arrangements, his food and drink were of the simplest and most primitive character, and his dress was often careless to the point of slovenliness.

It does not appear that Lenin had special attraction in ordinary social intercourse. Again, he was too preoccupied with larger things. He was absolutely simple and unpretentious, never gave himself the smallest air of greatness. Everyone insists upon this. But he had a constitutional propensity to argue, which does not contribute to the charm of social life. Also, he gave his interlocutor an uncomfortable sense of being penetrated to the very bottom. The idea seemed to be always to discover whether you were someone who might be useful to the Cause. If you were not you would be civilly dismissed as soon as possible.

I look in vain for any record of intimate, self-abandoning friendships at any time. Lenin had any number of so-called "comrades," but they were comrades for the Cause, not for merely personal reasons. This spiritual isolation is well, if perhaps somewhat over-indicated, in one account of his early life: "Ulianov never prompted his neighbors, never permitted any of his classmates to copy his lessons,

never helped any of them by any explanation of a difficult lesson. He was not liked, yet no one ever dared to tease him. So he passed through all the eight years of gymnasium, always alone, awkward in his motions, a wolfish light gleaming under his eyebrows." The last touch shows the animus of hostility, but the general drift is sufficiently significant of a nature at least remote from its fellows, if not estranged from them.

As it was with the more serious aspects of human fellowship, so it was also with the lighter forms of relaxation and amusement. Lenin had in some ways a natural taste for these things.¹ His substantial health and his physical courage—which has been questioned but seems hardly questionable—also his passion for excelling in everything, inclined him to out-of-door sports. He was extremely fond of hunting, and both as a boy and as a man in Siberia skating was a delight to him. He was a great chess player at one time, worked out the printed problems with absorbed attention and developed the art till he could beat not only the members of his family but others much more experienced. But even as a boy, when he found that skating at night made him sleepy and dull over his lessons in the morning, he dropped the exercise at once. And as soon as he perceived that the contests of chess were distracting his thoughts from the mightier contests of the actual world the allurements of the game were discarded forever. He had greater bishops and castles and pawns to handle than the puppet-figures of the chess-board.

But what interests and puzzles me most in Lenin's contact with his human surroundings is the question of his laughter. One meets it everywhere, in every quality of observer, both those who enjoyed it and those who were perplexed by it. "He appreciated funny stories," says Gorky, "and laughed with his whole body, was really inundated with laughter, sometimes even to tears." He laughed with his intimates, he laughed with strangers, he laughed when he was idle, and he laughed in great crises also.

What I want to get at is the significance of the laughter. His simpler admirers say that it was pure good-nature and joyousness. He was cheerful, whatever came. "You see, nothing really worries him." Again, there is the possibility that the laughter was a convenient mask. He had a curious trick of putting his hand over his eyes and scanning an interlocutor through it. Perhaps the laughter served the same purpose. Or, in some natures, it might suggest an underlying detachment, the sense that even the great cause of world revolution was a trifle and a jest in the light of infinity and eternity. But this seems quite out of the question in view of the mad intensity of Lenin's customary political attitude. Another element of Lenin's laughter which impressed some keen observers was the suggestion

of cruelty in it. This stands out in the account of Mrs. Philip Snowden, a by no means unsympathetic witness: "It was the persistent, unnatural merriment of those amused eyes which gradually increased my distaste to the point of horror. What was there to laugh at in the whole wide realm of suffering Russia? . . . Here was a man who according to the Bolsheviki's own printed statement had sent ten thousand persons to their death for the love of a political creed. When one of our number elicited his plan for dealing with obstinate rich peasants, he shook with horrid laughter as he spoke of their hanging." And Bertrand Russell emphasizes the same thing: "He laughed over the exchange the peasant is compelled to make, of food for paper; the worthlessness of Russian paper struck him as comic."

This phase, of laughter, suggests a comparison with another Russian ruler, Catherine the Great. But Catherine had naturally a sweet, sunny, joyous temperament such as I cannot trace in Lenin at all. And again, the laughter suggests our own American Lincoln. Yet Lenin had none of Lincoln's tenderness, none of his distrust of himself, none of his profound, subtle, haunting melancholy; and it is precisely these elements that give the laughter of Lincoln its human warmth and richness. But if one attempts the comparison of Lenin with Lincoln, one strays off into an endless field of conjecture as bewildering as it is delightful.

V

If Lenin subdued and eliminated the personal life in all external human connections, he did so even more in the inner intellectual and spiritual world. Art and æsthetic experience were never of much account to him. It is true that he was eager to see a proletarian painting, a proletarian theater, and above all to take advantage of the new, mighty instrument of the moving pictures for proletarian propaganda purposes. But these things meant little in his own life, toys, trifles, gewgaws, beside the manipulation of real men. Music did, indeed, sometimes take hold of him, did work on his nerves and unfit him for the terrible affairs he had on hand. Therefore, music must be put out of his life.

Though Lenin lived so much out of doors and came into contact with external nature at every possible point, I find almost no trace of sensibility to natural beauty, very rarely any reference to it whatever. The same is true of the Great Catherine except that one aspect of nature, the driving Russian winds, seems to have obsessed her. And also with Lenin there is the exception in favor of the sea: "Soon after this Lenin went for a month to Brittany, where his mother was living, because he wanted to see the sea. He had an extraordinary love of the sea, and could watch the play of the

waves for hours; the sound of the sea soothed his nerves."

Literature, regarded merely as an art, made little more appeal than other forms of the æsthetic. It is true, Madame Lenin repels the charge that her husband never read novels or poetry, and she gives a considerable list of authors to whom he turned in Siberia, Russian and others. But his interest in them seems to have been largely in their bearing on the problems of life and politics which mainly appealed to him, and from the artistic or emotional point of view they probably touched him very little. If the germs of such things were born in him, he had crushed them and subdued them for so long that they were stunted and withered away, precisely as they gradually disappeared in Darwin.

Science in the abstract had little more interest for Lenin than art, though its logical processes were naturally somewhat akin to his intellectual activity. But applied science meant a great deal to him from its bearing on practical production and the welfare of the workers, and it is one of his notable elements of originality that, while he attacked capitalistic society on the side of its economic organization, he recognized that its technical methods might well be of the utmost importance for a Communistic State. He wanted to combine the practical energy and infinitely varied scientific ingenuity of America with the idealism of Russia, and he is said to have even gone so far as to remark: "A single technical expert is worth ten Communists."

Lenin's attitude towards philosophy was much the same as towards science. There were a few years when he busied himself enormously with abstract speculation and in the introduction to his book on *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* he characterized himself as "a seeker." But the tone of the seeker, the essential scientific spirit, was not in him in any respect, the long, patient, curious, tolerant research, wholly regardless of results. If he went into philosophy it was as he went into everything else, with his mind made up and a furious determination to find what he already carried with him. The economic theory of Marx, which was the breath of life to Lenin, was built on philosophic materialism. Therefore, philosophic materialism must be true, and a few years must be spent in proving that it was true, and especially and above all, in proving that all those who opposed it on any ground whatever were liars and cheats. They differed from Marx, they differed from Lenin, therefore, they obviously were wrong, and the rich vocabulary of abuse must be exhausted in making this evident to them and to the world.

But by far the most significant, the most characteristic of all the elements of Lenin's inner life is his attitude toward religion, because this, like the others, but far more than the others, is interwoven

with his whole political, social, and moral thinking. He regarded art and science with indifference. He regarded God with positive, furious animosity. God was the contemptible creation of the abject bourgeois, the last pitiful device of the sordid capitalist for keeping the unhappy proletarian in slavish subjection. "God is primarily a complex of ideas which result from the overwhelming oppression of men through external nature and class slavery; of ideas which *fasten* this slavery to him, and which try to neutralize the class struggle." Again, even more vehemently: "And God-creation, is not this the worst form of self-reviling? Every man who occupies himself with the construction of a God, or merely even agrees to it, prostitutes himself in the worst way, for he occupies himself not with activity, but with self-contemplation and self-reflection; and tries to deify his most unclean, most stupid, and most servile features or pettinesses."

The moral sanctions and supports of religion were of course swept away with the supernatural foundation, and the possible hopes, consolations, and compensations of a future life were easily disposed of in the same fashion. Everywhere there is an aggressive, furious, if you like, joyous and even laughing assertion that our souls are snuffed out, flung to the winds with our bodies, and that heaven must be found or made right here on this earth, through the dictatorship of the proletariat, or it can never be found or made anywhere at all.

With many people who flaunt these bitter anti-religious affirmations it is possible to find some flaw, some crevice, some cranny of personal weakness or childhood memory where a shuddering suspicion or at least a lingering regret creeps in. As Saint-Evremond puts it: "The most ardent believer cannot always believe, nor the most confirmed denier always deny." But I have not come across the faintest evidence of any weakening in Lenin. God was his enemy from start to finish, and he hated him as if he were a capitalist and a bourgeois, as indeed he believed he was. Not from Lenin would ever have come a touch of sympathy with the whimsical last stanza of "Exit God":

I sometimes wish that God were back
In this dark world and wide,
For though some virtues he might lack,
He had his pleasant side.

Thus, it seems as if Lenin had crushed, uprooted, got rid of the personal side of life altogether, had subordinated all the common hopes and desires of men in a supreme devotion to one ideal Cause which consumed and engrossed him entirely. Yet all the time you cannot help feeling that just that very devotion involved the most tremendous emphasis on the ego that is possible to man, in the acquisition, the assertion, the enjoyment of power and arbitrary

dominion over other men. The whole study of Lenin is made fascinating by this bewildering and complicated tangle. And then through it all there is interwoven that strain of sardonic laughter, which

I cannot quite explain or understand. So, as often with these great doers of the world, we are forced to end with a question. For doing, and life, and death are merely a vast question, after all.

Communist Secularism

By NICHOLAS BERDYAEV

In "Christianity and the Crisis," Gollancz, London, 1933

Facing Communism as a world phenomenon, the task of Christianity is not at all that of conflict with every social movement of our times, but rather the spiritualising and Christianising of those movements, bringing into them a new spirit, the education of human souls for a new social life, a new community of men. It is not enough to preach the spiritual regeneration of men and to ignore social life. Such preaching gives an impression of hypocrisy and the desire to defend the status quo by hiding it under high-sounding phrases.

The spiritual regeneration of the individual man cannot but express itself in social change. An unjust, godless society, or unjust and godless social relationships, always give proof of inner, spiritual debasement of men. There must be a spiritual regeneration of both personality and society, the realisation in society of the commands of Christ. In the future we must strive toward a society in which by his very social position man cannot be an exploiter or an oppressor.

To be sure, there will always be the expression of evil will in social life. But the remedy lies in the sincere determination of Christians to war against the social expression of evil. Communism intends, by means of the compulsory, external organisation of society, to produce a juster social order, which is the good in Communism; but in endeavouring to attain an inner communion of men, a brotherhood, by this external compulsion, Communism enters an evil path leading it straight to tyranny. A new social order must be created, one which eliminates man's oppression of man and the unbearable inequality of to-day; but inner brotherly communion is a spiritual task. It is a Christian task, which transcends the limits of a legal organisation of society. Communism's challenge to the old society and to Christianity faces the whole Christian world with these problems, with the necessity of building a new society, a new Christian community.

The Communist Party and Its Activities in the United States

By the HONORABLE GEORGE H. TINKHAM (Mass.)

A speech delivered in the House of Representatives on May 14, 1935.

ON November 16, 1933, the United States of America recognized the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This recognition was a conditional recognition based upon several specific and exact pledges made in writing on behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by its People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Maxim Litvinoff. These pledges were accepted complacently at face value by the international socialists now in control of the Government of the United States. All of these pledges have been wholly repudiated.

The pledges purported to protect the United States from further communistic activities, and to guarantee against a continuance of the Communist organized effort to overthrow the Government of the United States and to substitute for the American form of government, a representative democracy with guarantees of the rights to property, the Soviet form of government known as the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The repudiation of these pledges not only threatens the public safety of the United States, but is subversive of her social, economic and political institutions and destructive of her very existence.

Because of the repudiation of the pledges made on behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on January 3, 1935, I introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives proposing that the Congress recommend the severance of diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. I then officially requested the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to set a date for a hearing on the resolution. At the end of several weeks a hearing was set for Tuesday, March 26. Competent witnesses came to Washington from various parts of the country to support my proposal with much indisputable documentary evidence. On the very morning of the date set for the hearing, after the witnesses were assembled at the Capitol, prepared to present their evidence to the committee, the committee refused to hold the hearing or to accept the evidence unless I should agree not to refer on the floor of the House to any evidence that might be presented to the committee, even such evidence as was already in my possession.

The committee was plainly hostile to the resolution and obviously opposed to its favorable consideration. I therefore declined to subscribe to the appar-

ent intention of the committee to suppress all evidence of the repudiation of the pledges upon which United States recognition was conditioned, to put it under seal, and to refuse to let the American people know the truth. The resolution was in the public interest. It involved the public safety of the United States. The people of the United States were entitled to know the facts.

Among the pledges given on November 16, 1933, by Maxim Litvinoff on behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to obtain United States recognition, were the following:

"To refrain, and to restrain all persons in government service and all organizations of the Government or under its direct or indirect control, including organizations in receipt of any financial assistance from it, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to injure the tranquility, prosperity, order, or security of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions, and, in particular, from any act tending to incite or encourage armed intervention, or any agitation or propaganda having as an aim, the violation of the territorial integrity of the United States, its territories or possessions, or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions."

and

"Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions."

Actual and indisputable evidence of the repudiation of these pledges were first laid before the State Department by Mr. Matthew Woll, Acting President of the National Civic Federation and Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, in a letter dated February 7, 1934, supplemented by a written Memorandum accompanied by supporting documents. Further evidence of the repudiation of the Litvinoff pledges was submitted to the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities at its hearing in New York on July 12, 1934, and at its hearing in Washington on December 17, 1934. The

committee received and now has in its possession original and undisputed documents which show beyond reasonable doubt that there is in this country an organized movement seeking to prepare itself to seize and to destroy this government by the use of force and to substitute for it the Soviet form of government known as the dictatorship of the proletariat; and that this movement is directed and controlled by the Communist International, a political organization which has been and still is located in Moscow, within the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and controlled by the Soviet Union.

In a report which the Committee Investigating Un-American Activities made to the House of Representatives on February 15, 1935, there appears the following:

"In December, 1934 it (the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities) held a series of public hearings at Washington, D. C., at which representatives from various organizations and agencies that have recently been investigating Communism presented statements of their findings accompanied by one or more recommendations.

"The Communist Party of the United States is not a national political party concerned primarily and legitimately with conditions in this country. Neither does it operate on American principles for the maintenance and improvement of the form of government established by the organic law of the land.

"The nature and extent of organized Communist activity in the United States have been established by testimony and the objectives of such activities clearly defined. Both from documentary evidence submitted to the committee and from the frank admission of Communist leaders (cf. Browder and Ford, New York hearing, July 12, 1934) these objectives include:

1. The overthrow by force and violence of the republican form of government guaranteed by article IV, section 4, of the Federal Constitution.
2. The substitution of a soviet form of government based on class domination to be achieved by abolition of elected representatives both to the legislative and executive branches, as provided by article I, by the several sections of article II of the same Constitution and by the fourteenth amendment.
3. The confiscation of private property by governmental decree, without the due process of law and compensation guaranteed by the fifth amendment.
4. Restriction of the rights of religious freedom, of speech, and of the press as guaranteed by the first amendment.

"These specific purposes by Communist admission are to be achieved not by peaceful exercise of the ballot under constitutional right, but by revolutionary upheavals, by fomenting class hatred, by incitement to class warfare and by other illegal, as well as by legal, methods. The tactics and specific stages to be followed for the accomplishment of this end are set forth in circumstantial detail in the official program of the American Communist Party adopted at the convention held at Cleveland on April 2 to 8, 1934.

"The 'manifesto' and the 'resolutions' incite to civil war by requiring one class 'to take power' by direct revolutionary process and then assume dictatorship over the country in the manner followed by the Com-

munists in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which is frequently mentioned as a guiding example.

"In pursuance of the revolutionary way to power, the program instructs members of the party to obtain a foothold in the Army and the Navy and develop 'revolutionary mass organizations in the decisive war industries and in the harbors.' The trade unions should be undermined and utilized as recruiting grounds for revolutionary workers. How faithfully these particular injunctions have been executed was demonstrated by Navy officers appearing before the committee and by officials of the American Federation of Labor.

"The American Communist Party is affiliated with the Third International, which was created by officials of the Soviet Government and is still housed in Moscow with governmental approval and cooperation. This affiliation is not one of general sympathy or broad uniformity of purpose and program; it is of a definitely organic character involving specific jurisdiction on the part of the governing body over the Communist Party of the United States.

"The executive secretary of the Communist Party of the United States testified to this committee that his party was 'a section of the Communist International'; that it participates in all the gatherings which decide the policies of the Communist International and sends delegates to the various conferences in Moscow. This admission is confirmed by the records available."

Let us examine some of the documentary evidence which the Committee on Foreign Affairs of this House refused to hear on March 26 last in support of the resolution proposing the severance of diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. Let us see what are the damning facts concerning the repudiation of the pledges made to the United States Government on behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to obtain United States recognition.

The Communist Party of the United States, with headquarters at 50 East 13th Street, New York, New York, is the American Section of the Communist International, a World Communist Party located at Moscow. This fact is plainly stated in the title of the *Daily Worker*, the Party's official English language publication. The objects of the Communist International and the duties of its various sections are defined by the Constitution and Rules of that body. These will be found in a pamphlet entitled "Program of the Communist International," which is published by the Workers Library Publishers at 50 East 13th Street, New York City. On page 88 of this pamphlet we read:

"As the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat, . . . the Communist International . . . fights for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. . . ."

The second paragraph of the International Constitution, on the same page of the same document—shows that the orthodox Communist Party in each country is known as a Section of the Communist International. Its supreme governing authority is "the World Congress of representatives of all Parties (Sections) and organizations affiliated to the

Communist International." (See paragraph 8, page 90 of the Constitution.) This Congress, which meets periodically in Moscow, "discusses and *decides* the program, tactical and organizational questions connected with the activities of the Communist International and of *its various Sections*." Between Congresses an Executive Committee "gives instructions to all the Sections of the Communist International and *controls* their activity." (See paragraph 12, page 91 of the Constitution.) The extent of this control is made clear by paragraph 13 of the Constitution which declares:

"The decisions of the E. C. C. I. (the Executive Committee of the Communist International) are obligatory for all the Sections of the Communist International and must be promptly carried out. The Sections have the right to appeal against decisions of the E. C. C. I. to the World Congress, but must continue to carry out such decisions pending the decision of the World Congress."

and by paragraph 16 of the Constitution which provides:

"The programs of the various Sections of the Communist International must be endorsed by the E. C. C. I. . . ."

In order to keep the Executive Committee of the Communist International in close touch with the Parties in the several countries, it is empowered by paragraph 22 of the Constitution:

"To send their representatives to the various Sections of the Communist International. . . . Representatives of the E. C. C. I. are especially obliged to supervise the carrying out of the decisions of the World Congresses and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International."

It thus appears that an organization known as the Communist International, located at Moscow, within the territory of the Russian Government, and controlled by the Soviet Union, has as its object the overthrow of existing governments in all other countries, including our own; has as its agency in each country a section known as the Communist Party of the given country, and that such Communist Party is subject to the direction and control of the Executive Committee of the Communist International residing at Moscow.

It should scarcely need argument to convince any reasonable person that the Communist International is an "organization or group," or, at the very least, "representatives or officials of an organization or group," within the meaning of the Litvinoff pledges. Nor should it be necessary to point out that if this organization continued to function after the Litvinoff pledges were given to the United States and if the Russian Government made no attempts to limit its activities, then those pledges were violated.

What are the facts?

In mid-December, 1933, one month after the Litvinoff pledges were given to the United States Gov-

ernment, the Executive Committee of the Communist International openly met at Moscow, under the walls of the Kremlin, and adopted resolutions designed to instruct its various Sections upon the means they must employ and the activities in which they must engage in order to prepare to overthrow by force the governments of their respective countries. These resolutions pointed out:

"There is no way out of the general crisis of capitalism other than the one shown by the October Revolution, via the overthrow of the exploiting classes by the proletariat, the confiscation of the banks, of the factories, the mines, transport, houses, the stocks of goods of the capitalists, the lands of the landlords, the church and the crown."

These resolutions, known as the Thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, were published in English in the January 13, 1934, edition of the *Daily Worker*, the official organ of the Communist Party of the United States, and in the February issue of *The Communist*, an official monthly publication of the Communist Party of the United States. The October Revolution referred to in this quotation is, of course, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. It should be unnecessary to recall that this revolution was not a mere political overturn as the result of a general election or plebiscite, but rather was the result of a bloody civil war prosecuted by an organized and ruthless minority. These are facts of which we may take judicial notice. Here is an advocacy of the overturn of government by force, violence and unlawful means.

The resolutions referred to closed with the following order:

"The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. (the Executive Committee of the Communist International) obliges all Sections of the Communist International to be on their guard at every turn of events, and to exert every effort without losing a moment for the revolutionary preparation of the proletariat for the impending decisive battles for power." (See page 144 of the February issue of *The Communist*.)

Here is a specific instruction from a Moscow organization to the Sections of the Communist International, of which the Communist Party of the United States is one, that they must exert every effort to prepare the proletariat for the decisive battles for power. Here the American Communist Party receives an order from Moscow to work for the overthrow by force of the Government of the United States.

If there were any doubt as to what means are intended and for what preparations are to be made, they are removed by the statement in *The Communist International*, the English language organ of the Communist International. On page 87 we read:

"The general strike and armed uprising are the only road for the proletariat in its struggle to put an end to the domination of capital and conquer power and establish socialism."

Such instructions were, in fact, received in the United States from Russia subsequent to the Litvinoff pledges, and were approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States at a meeting held in New York City on January 16, 1934. That Committee adopted a resolution at that meeting which opens with the following paragraph:

"The 18th meeting of the Central Committee C. P. U. S. A. (the Communist Party of the United States of America) fully accepts and endorses the analysis of the present world situation and the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International." (See page 178 of the February, 1934, issue of *The Communist*.)

The Thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International at its meeting in Moscow in mid-December, 1933, in its opening session, declares:

"The tremendous strains of the internal class antagonisms in the capitalist countries, as well as of the international antagonisms, testify to the fact that the objective prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis have matured to such an extent that at the present time the world is closely approaching a new round of revolution and wars."

In reviewing the American situation, the resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States at its meeting held in New York City on January 16, 1934, states:

"Clearly, Roosevelt's program, with its fascist and war objectives, is also leading to the sharpening of all class antagonisms throughout the country, and is placing on the agenda, here also, the problem of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, the revolutionary seizure of power by the toiling masses, the proletarian revolution. The objective prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis are maturing." (See page 179 of the February, 1934, issue of *The Communist*.)

The militant program of the Thirteenth Plenum, thus approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, was later approved also by the Eighth National Convention of the Communist Party held at Cleveland, Ohio, April 2-8, 1934. This Convention constitutes the supreme governing body of the Communist Party in this country. In one of the resolutions adopted to carry out the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International we find the statement:

"All members of the Party must in their day-to-day work, in the fight for the demands of the workers, point out convincingly and insistently that only the destruction of the capitalist system, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the Soviet power, can free the millions of toilers from the bondage and misery of the capitalist system." (See May, 1934, issue of *The Communist*, page 453.)

For the general instruction of those not familiar with Communism, the Party has prepared a booklet published by the Workers Library Publishers, 50 East 13th Street, New York City, entitled "Why

Communism?" which has run through many editions. On page 44 of the March, 1934, issue it is stated:

"We Communists say that there is one way to abolish the capitalist State, and that is to smash it by force. To make Communism possible the workers must take hold of the State machinery of capitalism and destroy it."

The most concise statement I have yet seen of the program planned by the Communist Party for the overthrow of our Government appears in the Election Program adopted by the Party for the Congressional and State elections last fall. I quote from page 23 of the "Election Platform of the Communist Party of New York State, 1934." It says:

"The revolutionary way out of the crisis begins with the fight for unemployment insurance, against wage cuts, for wage increases, for relief to the farmers—through demonstrations, strikes, general strikes leading up to the seizure of power, to the destruction of capitalism by a revolutionary workers' government."

This then is the road the Communist Party has chosen to follow. In doing so, the head of its Agit Prop Bureau (Agitation Propaganda Bureau) points out to new members that:

"Lenin maintained, the only way in which we can make the situation for capitalism really hopeless is by defeating the efforts of the capitalist class to find a capitalist way out of the crisis, that is, by arousing the widest masses to organized resistance against the capitalist offensive, by developing in the daily struggles of the proletarian counter-offensive and by convincing the masses of the need of a revolutionary way out of the crisis." (See page 20 of the booklet entitled "The Communist Party in Action" by Alex Bittelman, published by the Workers Library Publishers, 50 East 13th Street, New York.)

Mr. Walter Lippmann, in the *New York Herald-Tribune* of February 5, 1935, observes:

(Walter Lippmann—*New York Herald-Tribune*—February 5, 1935; extract from)

"No man may invoke a right in order to destroy it. The right of free speech belongs to those who are willing to preserve it. The right to elect belongs to those who mean to transmit that right to their successors. The rule of the majority is morally justified only if another majority is free to reverse that rule. To hold any other view is to believe that democracy alone, of all forms of government, is prohibited by its own principles from insuring its own preservation. There is nothing in the principles of democracy that requires a people to surrender democracy or relieves them of the obligation to defend it. In many countries of the world today there are armed bands of men, using the democratic liberties of free assemblage and of free speech for the overthrow of democratic liberties. Is there any doubt that democratic governments have the right to suppress them? If they become strong that they have the duty to suppress them? That there is no democratic right to destroy democracy and that revolutionists against democracy may be tolerated only if they are so weak as to be negligible? A free nation can tolerate much and ordinarily toleration is its best de-

fense. It can tolerate feeble Communist parties and feeble Fascist parties as long as it is certain they have no hope of success. But once they cease to be debating societies and become formidable organizations for action, they present a challenge which is suicidal to ignore. They use liberty to assemble force to destroy liberty. When that challenge is actually offered, when it really exists in the judgment of the sober and the well informed, it is a betrayal of liberty not to defend it with all the power that free men possess."

[The quotation from Mr. Walter Lippman was not cited in its entirety by Representative Tinkham. It is quoted more at length here as the argument is well phrased and merits more space than the Congressman could devote to it in his speech. The argument has more than once been used by the Supreme Court of the United States and by State Courts.—EDITOR.]

The question is: Are these plans and purposes of the Communist International and its American Section, the Communist Party of the United States, merely the vaporings of a debating society?

Let us see what the Communist Party is actually doing in this country to carry out its objectives?

The evidence presented before the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities has made it perfectly plain to any sober and intelligent student that the activities of these organizations have become much more real than mere debates, plans or hopes. That evidence shows beyond reasonable doubt that active measures are being taken on many fields to recruit sufficient Communist strength to make the attempt to overturn our Government by force. These preparatory efforts may not yet have been sufficiently fruitful to present grave danger of such an overturn at once, but the facts do show that they constitute a constant threat in times such as these, and that with an aggravation of our present economic situation they would become a great peril to the maintenance of our Government. In fact, the evidence does show that they are at present a constant threat to the industrial peace of the country and already have provoked and have protracted some of the most violent and bloody industrial disturbances in this country during the past year.

In the resolutions of the Thirteenth Plenum adopted one month after the giving of the pledges by Maxim Litvinoff, the Executive Committee of the Communist International made these demands upon its various sections:

"(a) That the content and language of *agitation and the press* must henceforth be addressed to the broadest strata of the proletariat and the toilers, showing the face of the Communist Parties in both agitation and in mass actions (demonstrations, strikes and other mass actions).

"(b) *Securing within the shortest time possible a decisive turn to the work in the factories*, concentrating the forces of the Party organization in the decisive enterprises and raising the political level of the leader-

ship given by the factory nuclei to the daily class struggles.

"(c) Putting an end to the opportunist, defeatist neglect of *trade union work* and in particular work inside the reformist trade unions . . .

"(d) Really developing *mass work among the unemployed* . . .

"(e) Intensifying revolutionary *work in the rural districts* . . .

"(f) Increasing the *mass work among women* . . .

"(g) Putting an end to the *narrowness of the Y. C. L.* (the Youth Communist League).

(See pages 141-142, February, 1934, issue of *The Communist*).

Since United States recognition of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Communist Party of the United States has devoted itself intensively to carrying out these unequivocal orders of its superior at Moscow, and communistic activities in the United States have been greatly increased.

It has been indicated that the Communist Party relies primarily upon the general strike as an effective weapon for destroying our Government. Obviously if this weapon is to be effective, that Party must have control of large masses of individuals, particularly wage-earners. It is using every means at its command to gain such control. On the industrial field, the steps taken by it are three-fold:

1. It is organizing the unorganized, unskilled or semi-skilled workers into revolutionary industrial unions;

2. It is organizing militant rank and file oppositions within the recognized unions of the American Federation of Labor; and

3. It has created Councils among the unemployed workers and those upon relief.

All of these activities are directed by an affiliated agency of the Communist Party until recently known as the Trade Union Unity League, with headquarters at 80 East 11th Street, New York City, and now known as the Committee for the Unification of Trade Unions. Already a large number of such revolutionary industrial unions have been organized under Communist leadership, each with its own periodical publication, each with the object of using the strike for political purposes when the appropriate moment comes. A large number of rank and file organizations have already been created in unions of the American Federation of Labor which are guided by special publications, of which the *A. F. of L. Rank and File Federationist* is typical.

The part played by these various agencies in the great industrial disturbances of the past year is frankly admitted in official Communist publications. For example, the serious Auto-Lite strike in Toledo, Ohio, last April was Communist-led and the violence was traceable directly to the activities of the Communist groups there and affiliated Unemployed Councils. The part played by these bodies in that

strike is frankly told in the July, 1934, issue of *The Communist*. On page 460 of that issue it is stated:

"Above all, the Toledo workers went through ten days of intensive political training in which the class lines were sharply drawn."

What the Communists meant by political training is made clear, for the article proceeds:

"While it is true that the fighting did not yet involve machine-gun shooting (although there were plenty in evidence), or heavier weapons, nevertheless, the whole line-up of workers against the capitalist State, and the methods of struggle in a hitherto typical middle-sized industrial city is very symptomatic. The quick development from isolated strike struggles to bloody mass battles involving the bulk of the working population shop workers, unemployed, Negro, women, and quickly spreading to the general strike preparations, such as we have seen in Toledo, is something new in the situation." (p. 642).

Similar evidence is available showing the Communist leadership in the violence which characterized the strikes in San Francisco, Portland, Minneapolis, Centralia, Gastonia, Woonsocket, and elsewhere.

The progress made by the Party in this particular field of effort may be measured by the fact that in these organizations the Communists have already recruited approximately 500,000 persons throughout the country. To give consideration to the Trade Union Unity League alone, a resolution of the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, held April 2-8, 1934, referring to the last year, says:

"The T. U. U. L. (the Trade Union Unity League) unions which recruited some 100,000 new members led strikers of some 200,000 workers." (See page 463 May, 1934, issue of *The Communist*).

It thus appears that the Communist Party of the United States is not simply a debating society, but has advanced materially in the direction of preparing itself to use violence as the means of seizing and destroying the powers of government.

It is a shocking commentary upon the somnolence of the American people that they have permitted the Government itself to become an accomplice of the Communist Party in building these revolutionary industrial unions. I refer to the interpretations of Section 7-A of the National Industrial Recovery Act, which have forced reluctant employers to recognize and to deal with representatives of revolutionary industrial unions and which have sanctioned the coercion of reluctant employees into membership in such unions. It is scarcely credible, but it is a fact that the full powers of Federal Government have been used to encourage, to aid, and to abet the forging of instruments designed for its own destruction.

A typical example of this is the Government pressure brought to bear upon a large clothing dealer

in New York City, Samuel Klein. The union involved is the Office Workers Union, which "is affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League." (See page 8, November, 1934, issue of the *Office Worker*.)

Let me read an editorial from the *Daily Worker* of February 4, 1935, which describes the result of Klein's appeal to the National Labor Relations Board:

"The strike of the S. Klein clothing store workers, who have been out since November 17, has been settled with gains for the workers. The over 60 workers fired for membership in the Office Workers Union are to be on the preferential list for re-hiring; the strikers receive five weeks wages for the time lost, and Gertrude Lane, secretary of the union, has a certified check for this; a deposit is placed in a bank, and will be forfeited if Joseph Brodsky, noted labor attorney, decides that Klein at any time breaks the agreement."

It should be known that Joseph Brodsky is the attorney for the International Labor Defense, a mass organization of the Communist Party of the United States. In this instance, the power of the national government has been used directly to forward the Communist program for the overturn of government by force.

During the past year, the policy of the Communist Party in the industrial field has undergone a very marked change. Heretofore, the Party has attacked the American Federation of Labor as a fascist and reactionary organization. But the large number of recruits taken into the unions affiliated with that body, who formerly have been unorganized, and a changing temper in the growing groups of wage-earners throughout the country generally, has led the Communist Party to change its attitude toward the American Federation of Labor. It is now devoting the major part of its energy toward organizing and gaining control of the revolutionary "rank and file" oppositions within the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

In speaking of this change of policy, Alex Bittelman, in the March, 1935, issue of *The Communist*, referring particularly to criticisms of the conservative leadership of the American Federation of Labor, says:

"We must do it not as outsiders, but as part of the unions, fighting for a different policy than the reactionaries and trying to convince and win the workers for our class struggle policies as against the class collaboration reactionary policies." (p. 256).

For this reason, the *A. F. of L. Rank and File Federationist* is now being widely circulated. This change in front is so marked that at the Convention of the Trade Union Unity League held about two months ago in New York City, it was decided to terminate that organization in its present form. The Report of the Convention, published in the *Daily Worker* of March 18, 1935, says:

"With this convention, the Trade Union Unity League as it has been constituted, was terminated, in line with

the struggle which has been going on for months, with considerable success, for merger of the unions affiliated to the T. U. U. L. (the Trade Union Unity League) with the American Federation of Labor unions." (See page 1 of the March 18 issue of the *Daily Worker*.)

In other words, the work of the Trade Union Unity League will now be carried on under the name, Committee for the Unification of Trade Unions.

As evidence of the progress made in "boring within" the conservative unions, I quote from an editorial in the *Daily Worker* for February 5, 1935. The editorial states:

"Strike preparations must be made now. The unorganized steel workers must be brought into the A. F. of L. now, before the present busy production season is over. The rank and file in the A. F. of L. auto locals must act now to build their unions and prepare the strike."

This solicitude for recruiting American Federation of Labor unions in these fields would not be shown by the Communist Party of the United States unless it felt confident that it would have a controlling voice in them.

A separate organization directly affiliated with the Communist International is the Young Communist League. One of the sections of the Communist International is the International League of Communist Youth, popularly known as Communist Youth International. Its relation to the parent body is defined in paragraph 35 of the "Constitution and Rules of the Communist International."

The Young Communist League of the United States is the American agency of the Communist Youth International. Its Program is published in a pamphlet by the Young Communist League of America, 43 East 125th Street, New York City. It says:

"The Y. C. L. (the Young Communist League) is the school of Communism for the toiling youth, but 'the growing young generation can only learn Communism by linking up every step in its training and education with the incessant struggle of the proletariat and the toiling masses against the old exploiting society' . . ." (p. 34).

"Its task is to organize within its ranks not only the advanced elements, but the broad masses of the toiling youth." (p. 35).

The program of this organization is frankly not confined to legal measures. On page 40, the Program says:

"The Y. C. L. (the Young Communist League) does not limit its activity to the framework of 'legality' ordained by the bourgeoisie. In its struggle against capitalism, the Y. C. L. is continually compelled to combine its open legal activity with illegal and semi-legal work and therefore to overstep the limits laid down for it by bourgeois legality."

The Membership Book of the League contains the following pledge and rules:

"Upon joining the Young Communist League, I

pledge to be a loyal fighter for the every day interests of the working class and the toiling youth. To further do all in my power to learn and become a conscious leader amongst the young workers, wherever I may be, in the struggle against the boss class and for the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government."

The rules follow:

- "1. Every member must be active in the unit.
- "2. A member must pay dues regularly to the unit.
- "3. He must join his trade union and be active there.
- "4. Every member in the shop should work for the building of a unit in the factory.
- "5. A member should attend fraction meetings of the trade union or organization of which he is a member.
- "6. The member should read working class literature, subscribe to the 'Daily Worker', and attend study circles and classes, to become more developed and trained in the working class movement."

This is by no means a paper organization. It is active in schools and colleges throughout the country, in factories and in shops. It has aided and encouraged demonstrations against military service, against the R.O.T.C. and the defensive measures of Government. On page 13 of "A Program for American Youth," adopted at the Seventh National Convention of the League on June 22-27, 1934, will be found the following statement:

"Through the application of the united front the Y. C. L. (the Young Communist League) in the last year helped to develop an anti-war youth movement, organized a whole series of anti-war conferences and actions and in the past three years succeeded in transforming Memorial Day into a traditional day of struggle against war and fascism."

In January, 1934, two months after the Litvinoff pledges were given to the United States Government, a full meeting of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International met at Moscow. A pamphlet published by the Young Publishers, the official printing house of the Young Communist League in this country, P. O. Box 28, Station D, New York City, contains the report made to this meeting by V. E. Chemadanov, who is Secretary of the Young Communist International, and Chairman of the Russian delegation.

In this report appears the following:

"The masses of the toiling youth can and must be won to the side of Communism, through developing the propaganda of Leninist teachings among them, through mobilizing them for economic and political fights, through leading them to the barricades under the leadership of the Communist Party." (p. 41).

It should be quite apparent that this report issued to the American Party, as well as others of a similar nature, constitutes a clear violation not only of the spirit but also of the letter of the Litvinoff pledges.

A very considerable amount of progress has been made by this organization among the agencies formed in connection with it. The Young Pioneer deserves especial mention. It is a sort of prepara-

tory school for the Young Communist League. The *New Pioneer*, a monthly publication, is gotten out in its interest, and is designed to stimulate class hatred among very young children. These have been organized into troops similar in formation to the Boy Scouts. Summer camps for Young Pioneer troops have been conducted in various parts of the country. It is claimed that the membership in them has trebled the last two years, increasing from 4,000 to 12,000. (See page 12 of "A Program for American Youth.")

In passing, it should be said that each Communist organization has its Youth Section, which is actively engaged in circulating destructive propaganda as well as affording amusement and entertainment for children of wage-earners.

As a part of the work of preparing for the forceful overthrow of Government, the Communist Party has recognized the imperative need of trained leadership. To that end, it has established a large number of Workers Schools in the principal industrial centers throughout the United States. These schools are under the guidance and direction of the Workers School located at 35 East 12th Street, New York City. Its purpose is described in the Foreword of its Winter Term Announcement as follows:

"The Workers School is not an academic institution. It participates in all the current struggles of the working class. It takes part in strikes, campaigns and demonstrations; it supplies speakers, agitators and organizers; it stimulates working-class educational and cultural movements and various studies; and it cooperates with workers' fraternal and cultural organizations in the establishment of forums, classes, and study circles." (p. 2).

The Foreword also says:

"From a mere handful in 1923, our registration grew to 6,000 in 1933-34."

It is still growing rapidly.

Following are only a few of the Workers Schools affiliated with this Communist organization:

<i>Name of School</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>From the Daily Worker Date of Issue</i>
Harlem Workers School, William Burroughs, Dir.	200 West 135th Street New York City	May 2, 1934
Los Angeles Workers School	Workers Cultural Center 230 Spring Street Los Angeles, Calif.	May 2, 1934
Boston Workers School	919 Washington St. Boston, Mass.	May 2, 1934
Summer Workers School (under the Workers School of N. Y.)	Camp Nitgedaiget and Camp Unity	July 24, 1934

<i>Name of School</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>From the Daily Worker Date of Issue</i>
Chicago Workers School	Central School with branches on Northwest Side and South Side of Chicago, South Chicago and Gary, is located at 505 South State St.	Aug. 14, 1934
Northwest Side Workers School	Northwest Side Workers Center, Chicago	Aug. 14, 1934
South Chicago Workers School	9133 Baltimore Street Chicago	Aug. 14, 1934
Cleveland Workers School	1524 Prospect Avenue	Aug. 14, 1934
Brownsville Workers School	1855 Pitkin Avenue Brooklyn, N. Y.	Sept. 11, 1934
Workers School, Peoria	725½ South Evans St. Peoria, Ill.	Sept. 11, 1934
Philadelphia Workers School	908 Chestnut Street Philadelphia, Pa.	Nov. 20, 1934
Functionaries School	Schenectady, N. Y.	Nov. 20, 1934
Washington Workers School	513 F Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.	Nov. 20, 1934

This institution has associated with it a large number of subsidiary organizations designed to stimulate interest in the school, to cater to the social life of the student, and to increase its registration. Among these may be mentioned Friends of the Workers School, a Students' Council, the Theatre of the Workers School, and the Workers School Forum. The purposes and functions of these organizations are mentioned in the Winter Term Announcement.

Mr. Matthew Woll, in his testimony before the Congressional Committee Investigating Un-American Activities on December 17, 1934, called attention to an extraordinary state of affairs. Mr. Woll said:

"In carrying out this workers' educational program, the Communist movement has received substantial aid from an unexpected quarter. I refer to Schools established this year under the Division of Emergency Education Projects of the Federal Relief Administration."

Mr. Woll also pointed out that these schools were designed to bring together unemployed teachers and unoccupied working class students at the taxpayers' expense. He testified that the Federal Bureau at Washington issued suggestions for the organization, curricula and teaching to be carried on in these schools; that it issued a Bibliography entitled "Books, Pamphlets and Other Materials Recommended for Libraries of Training Centers for Workers' Education and Teachers of Workers' Education." He called attention to the fact that on page 2, under the head of "Labor Papers," the first four recommended for use in connection with the Schools were:

New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, New York—(Socialist).

Labor Action, 112 East 19th St., New York—American Workers Party—(a schismatic Communist group).

Workers' Age, 51 West 14th St., New York—Communist Opposition, representing the Trotsky section of Revolutionary Communism.

The Daily Worker, 50 East 13th St., New York—Communist.

Mr. Woll also said:

"We thus find the Federal Government itself recommending that unemployed teachers use periodicals whose object, with the exception of the first mentioned, is to teach their readers how to destroy our Government by force and violence. To be sure, other books, pamphlets and documents are recommended by the Bureau but a very large percentage of these present the point of view of the class struggle."

As recently as Saturday last, the press reported that the Federal Grand Jury Association for the Southern District of New York had charged that Federal Emergency Relief Administration funds were being used "to finance classes in communism" and to teach some 20,000 students "how to bring about a general strike, to seize and operate industry, particularly munitions plants, and how to overthrow the government and establish a Soviet Union."

It is, of course, impossible for me to give a full description of the actual activities being carried on by the Communist Party pursuant to the orders received from Moscow. I should fail, however, to give a true picture if I neglected to point out that, in addition to the direct Party agencies, it has caused the creation of and directs the activities of auxiliary and subsidiary organizations.

Among the auxiliary organizations may be mentioned the International Workers Order, with headquarters at 80 Fifth Avenue, New York City, which is ostensibly a mutual benefit association providing sick benefits, life insurance and medical services, etc., to its members at low cost. It has, however, following the provisions of its by-laws, organized "agitation and cultural activities among its members with a view to creating amongst them an understanding of the need of these struggles to break down amongst them illusory barriers of race, creed and color, to establish amongst them the practice of class solidarity and to develop in them working class consciousness, and finally, to win them for the struggle for a Workers' and Farmers' Government in America." (See page 6 of the Constitution and By-Laws of the organization.)

Considerable progress has been made in developing this organization in recent months. Its membership has jumped from forty to sixty thousand.

Another organization of national scope is the International Labor Defense. This is a section of the International Red Aid of Moscow and is described as:

"A broad non-Party organization based on the class struggle which aims to defend all workers who are being persecuted by the capitalist government and vari-

ous other agencies of the employing class, for their participation in the class struggle, by rendering legal aid, moral and financial support to these workers and their dependents, by wide publicity, organizing mass demonstrations of support and protest, both here and abroad." (See page 10 of the Constitution and Organization Resolution, adopted at its Fourth National Convention held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, December 29-31, 1929, which is still in force.)

The national headquarters of this organization is at 80 East 11th Street, New York City. Its official organ is the *Labor Defender*.

The Friends of the Soviet Union, with headquarters in the same place as the International Labor Defense, is still another auxiliary organization whose purpose it is to win the interest and support of non-Communists in the Russian Soviet Union and in its aspirations for world domination. It is the American Section of the International Friends of the Soviet Union located at Amsterdam, Holland.

Among its specific purposes outlined in a leaflet entitled "Who Are the Friends of the Soviet Union?" we find on page 8:

"To mobilize all elements who are sympathetic to the Soviet Union for the struggle against the war preparations of the imperialists."

In commenting upon this purpose, Mr. Matthew Woll called attention to its significance in the light of an editorial in the *Daily Worker* of June 13, 1934 which said:

"Civil war against 'our own' government, to work for the defeat of American imperialism in the next war, no matter whether it is 'defensive' or 'offensive'—that is the only truly revolutionary policy, in the interests of the working class."

Soviet Russia Today is the official organ of this organization. In July, 1934, it claimed a monthly circulation of 24,000.

Among the subsidiary organizations designed to recruit the strength of the Communist Party, one of particular importance is the League of Struggle for Negro Rights which is intended to spread Communist propaganda among the negro population in our country and which is actively engaged in doing so.

Earl Browder, the Executive Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, said in his report to the Eighteenth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party on January 16, 1934:

"It is necessary to say a few words about the most general aspect of the struggle for Negro liberation and the efforts to give this struggle organizational form in the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. . . . It is necessary to give first place also to the development of such organizations as the Share-Croppers Union. But the necessity for emphasis upon these basic forms of organization in no way relieves us of the duty of organizing the general liberation movement of the Negroes, as we have outlined these proposals for the building of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and its paper,

The Liberator. This is one of the tasks of the day for the entire Party organization. That means, developing mass activities, not leaving it on paper, not leaving it in the realm of abstract propaganda but developing tasks for the local organizations upon the basis of the general program laid down." (See page 171 of *The Communist*, issue of February, 1934).

The headquarters of this organization is 2162 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

Still another subsidiary organization is the National Student League which is an outgrowth of the activities of the Young Communist League and of the Communist Party generally. A Resolution on "The Winning of the Working Class Youth Is the Task of the Entire Party," was adopted at the National Convention of the Communist Party held at Cleveland in April, 1934. In this resolution we find the following:

"While building the National Student League as the broadest revolutionary mass student organization, they (referring to the Communist Party) must bring forth the independent role of the Young Communist League and recruit the class-conscious students for its ranks." (See page 487, May, 1934, issue of *The Communist*.)

The intimate relationship between the Young Communist League and the National Student League is made perfectly clear in "A Program for American Youth" already mentioned. On page 21, it says:

"The Y. C. L. (the Young Communist League) must work to build the National Student League into a broad mass organization. Every Section and District Committee must apply the principles of concentration and control tasks to the organization of the N. S. L. (The National Student League) in the schools in its local city, especially in the high and evening schools where the students are in greater numbers proletarian in origin."

This organization has been growing rapidly and it appears that, as long ago as December, 1933:

"The N. S. L. (the National Student League) has 50 active functioning groups throughout the United States. There are 44 groups, not in N. S. L. (National Student League) but under N. S. L. leadership. We also have contacts in 35 colleges, making a total of 129 colleges and universities in which the N. S. L. has influence." (See page 57 of the National Student League Year Book for 1933.)

These figures, of course, do not include the high school section, on which there seem to be no statistical data available.

The official national publication of this organization is the *Student Review*, a monthly magazine.

There are, however, a number of district organizations issuing newspapers and some of the college chapters also issue student newspapers.

It is interesting to note that the National Student League also maintains a school at 257 Seventh Avenue, New York City, formerly at 114 West 14th Street. Its bulletin describes its purpose to be: (1) to bring before the students an understanding of

the foundations of society; (2) to bring to the fore the day-to-day issues which face the students. (In view of the Communist affiliations, it is quite evident what these are.)

Besides the organizations which I have mentioned as being directly affiliated with the Communist Party or subsidiary to it, there are others which may properly be described as United Front organizations in which the Communist Party of the United States has a dominating influence. Perhaps the most active of these at the present time is the American League Against War and Fascism, of which Earl Browder, Executive Secretary of the Communist Party, is the active vice-chairman. The national headquarters of this body is located at 112 East 19th Street, New York City. It is made up of Communists and some Socialists. It also has its Youth Section. The Communist Party takes a vital interest in its promotion.

At the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party of the United States in April, 1934, a resolution on "The Winning of the Working Class Youth" was adopted. In paragraph 5 of this resolution, we find the following:

"The Party and League (referring to the Young Communist League) must guarantee an immediate improvement of the anti-militarist and anti-war activity . . . (b) a broad united-front movement of youth must be built around the American League Against War and Fascism. Broad city and state conferences of youth against war and fascism must be organized and anti-war committees set up in shops, ports, neighborhoods and mass organizations." (See page 485 of *The Communist*, issue of May, 1934.)

This organization held its Second National Congress at Chicago, Illinois, on September 28-30, 1934, at which the total number of delegates registered was 3,332, the number of youth delegates being 749. (See page 22 of the Proceedings of that Convention.)

In the September, 1934 issue of *Fight*, the official publication of this organization, Earl Browder asks the question: "What progress have we made in carrying out the program?" He mentions a few outstanding measures:

"1. The growth of the youth section and its activities, which have extended and activized the broad united front to include about everything healthy and living in its field, student-strike movement, a national youth day series of mass demonstrations, dozens of conferences, publications, etc.

"2. The Women's Committee and especially its mass campaign for election of the broad delegation to the Women's World Congress Against War and Fascism in Paris.

"3. The growingly successful publication of the monthly journal, FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM, which has won a secure and honorable place for itself purely on its merits.

"4. The mass demonstrations and parades on August 4th, the 20th anniversary of the World War, which in some places, as New York City, revealed an unexpected

degree of mass interest and active support for the *American League* and disclosed really great potentialities." (p. 5).

The Manifesto of the American League Against War and Fascism, adopted at the Chicago Convention, reveals its purpose which is as follows:

"To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union for total and universal disarmament, which today with the support of the masses of all countries constitutes the greatest and most effective opposition to war throughout the world; to oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union, whether these take the form of misrepresentation and false propaganda, diplomatic maneuvering or intervention by imperialist government."

The stand of the Youth Section of the League is made amply plain in the Youth Manifesto Against War and Fascism. On pages 6, 7 and 8 of that document, you will find the pledge of its membership. I need quote only the first article:

"1) We pledge to fight the efforts to militarize our generation. We will fight against all open and concealed efforts to train young people for war."

The last line of defense of democratic government, in case of serious internal disorders, is the National Guard and the regular Army and Navy. For this reason, so long as these bodies remain loyal to their oaths, the chances of the overturn of our Government by force and violence are remote. None recognizes this fact better than the Communist Party of the United States and, for this reason, intensive efforts are being made to spread the Communist doctrine and to win support for the Communist program in military, naval and National Guard circles. This activity follows the specific instructions received by the Communist Party from the Executive Committee of the Third International subsequent to the giving of the Litvinoff pledges to the United States Government as a condition of recognition. Those instructions order the various Sections of the International to "intensify political educational work in the army and in the navy." (See page 140 of the February, 1934 issue of *The Communist*.)

In obedience to this instruction, the Communist Party has established nuclei in the Army, Navy, and in several Navy Yards. *The Soldiers' Voice*, the *Shipmates' Voice* and the *Navy Yard Worker* are clandestinely circulated among enlisted men. Booklets are published by the Workers Library Publishers, the official publishing house of the Communist Party of the United States, intended to encourage insubordination in Army, Navy and National Guard circles.

In the Litvinoff pledges there was an engagement on the part of the Russian Government "to refrain and to restrain all persons in government service and all organizations of the government or under its direct or indirect control, including organizations in receipt of any financial assistance from it, from

any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to injure the tranquility, prosperity, order or security of the whole of any part of the United States or its possessions. . . ."

Let us refer once more to the resolutions of the Thirteenth Plenum held at Moscow one month after the giving of the Litvinoff pledges. These resolutions contained the following statement:

"It is necessary to unfold before the toilers of each country a program which, basing itself on the experience of the great triumphs of the Soviet workers and collective farmers on all fronts of the class struggle and Socialist construction, should, while making allowance for the peculiar conditions of the different countries, show *what the Soviet Power will give them in their own country.*"

In defining the meaning of "Soviet Power," the Plenum says:

"The Soviet Power is the state form of the proletarian dictatorship."

It appears, therefore, that an important part of the program for preparing the proletariat of this country for the overthrow of our Government includes the presentation of enticing pictures of what Soviet power gives to the proletariat in Soviet Russia. In furtherance of this program, a large number of propaganda documents have been and are still printed in Russia under Government supervision and sold in the United States by the International Publishers of 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City. A very considerable number of these documents are printed in the English language for use in English-speaking countries.

A typical example of this "made in Russia" propaganda is a booklet entitled: "Youth in the Soviet Union." In this booklet we read on page 9:

"How indeed can capitalism find occupation for youth and afford it access to the heights of science, technique and art, when capitalism itself is in the throes of a crisis of unprecedented severity, when it is constantly cutting down production, when crisis and unemployment are the necessary and inevitable consequences of the capitalistic method of production, when world capitalism is in a state of general crisis, which, despite occasional periods of temporary stabilization, is leading capitalism to ruin and collapse? No, it is beyond the power of capitalism to find a place in life for youth, the more so in the epoch of imperialism, the epoch of general crisis."

Many booklets of this same type, published in Russia in the English language, are being imported into this country in direct violation of the engagement entered into by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the time of its recognition by the United States Government.

Obviously, what I have said is not sufficiently full to give a complete picture of the extent to which these Communist activities are being carried on

throughout the United States. They do show, however, that

(1) That the Communist International, acting upon Russian territory and controlled by the Soviet Union, has, since the giving of the Litvinoff pledges, directed the Communist Party of the United States and the Young Communist League of America to use every available means to prepare for the forceful overthrow of our Government, by propaganda and the organization of revolutionary trade unions, leagues, committees and groups, and for the substitution in its place of a Soviet form of government to be affiliated with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(2) That the Communist Party and the Young Communist League of America have accepted this militant program and are using every effort to recruit their strength for that purpose, and that they have been aided and encouraged by Section 7-A of the National Industrial Recovery Act and through funds dispensed by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

(3) That this action on the part of the Communist International is a complete repudiation of the Litvinoff pledges;

(4) That the publication in the English language in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for use in the United States of books and pamphlets attacking our form of government and their shipment to this country also constitutes a complete repudiation of the Litvinoff pledges.

The evidence discloses that there has been an organized nation-wide systematic, and rapidly developing attempt to undermine the institutions of the United States and to overthrow its Government. An official committee of the House of Representatives has certified to the truth of this statement.

This evidence discloses also that since the recog-

nition by the United States of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, there have been a great increase in communistic activities and an enhancement of the prestige of those in control of them.

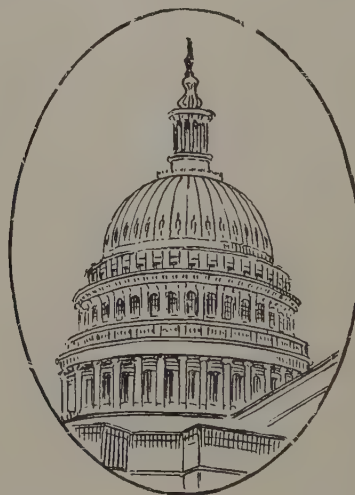
This undisputed evidence from Russian and American sources shows that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics promotes these activities to undermine the institutions of the United States and to overthrow its Government, in complete repudiation of the pledges which it gave to obtain United States recognition.

Since the Russian Government has failed to respect the pledges upon which United States recognition was conditioned, diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union should be severed at once.

Refusal of those in authority to sever diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union places a serious responsibility upon the Congress of the United States.

Officials of the United States government are bound by their oath of office to "defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic." An official of the government who violates his oath of office is subject to impeachment.

In the light of the evidence now in its possession it becomes the duty of the Congress to determine whether or not officials of the government who refuse to take action to defend the Constitution against a foreign enemy, and who permit public funds to be expended to teach subversive doctrines and to forward a program to overthrow the government, are subject to impeachment.



Conspiracy Against America

Tactics used by Intellectuals to win over American youth, workers, farmers and armed forces for overthrow of our Government and inauguration of a Soviet Republic.

By WALTER S. STEELE

In the "National Republic," December, 1934

THE MENACE of revolutionary radicalism in the United States is only faintly comprehended by those who judge of its potentialities only through observation of public activities of the communists and left wing socialists. That agitation, while considerable, is only one of the phases of a general perverse movement directed toward a common end. That end is the creation of a popular psychology which, if permitted through lack of resistance to attain its final phase, would make easily possible the overthrow of our civilization either suddenly by violence or gradually through changes brought about by the unintelligent use of the ballot.

The three main targets of socialistic and communistic attack are:

The state, under which private property and individual freedom is sanctioned.

The family, which is a bulwark of individualism, and

Religion, which prescribes a system of ethics incompatible with the principles of communism or socialism.

To acquaint you fully with the facts concerning only one of several hundred subversive organizations and their thousands of local branches operating in the United States would consume more space than has been granted me, and to acquaint you with the extensive question of communism in a proper manner would require more volumes of space.

Of course, you all know what the communist movement is without my telling you. If not, allow me to give you this definition. The communist movement is a movement of one class to exterminate another (the majority) class for the purpose of transferring the present representative control of government by a majority to the control of a dictatorship of another class (a minority). To accomplish this, an organized force is mobilized to put over a skillfully prepared program, a program planned, not in the United States, but in Russia. The program is launched through a poisonous propaganda network, highly financed and carefully prepared. It is designed, first, to create the idea of the existence of contending classes, and, second, to poison the mind of one class against the other class, and thereby bring about class warfare. . . .

No one could tell you exactly what the program of the communist movement is from day to day.

One can tell you what it was yesterday, but tomorrow it may be different. Lenin, one of their materialistic gods, who knew communistic philosophy better than most others, describes communism as follows: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing else than *power based upon force and limited to nothing*—by no kind of law and by absolutely no set rule." (Lenin—Complete Works, Vol. XVIII, page 361.) For example, a few weeks ago communists in the United States directed by Moscow condemned the President's Civil Works Administration program as a "forced labor camp at slave wages," yet its members eagerly grabbed off many of the jobs it made available, and organized communist cells in many units. But with the announcement that the C. W. A. might be demobilized, the communists immediately changed their tactics and began to condemn the government for not continuing the C. W. A. and asked all C. W. A. workers to strike against lay-offs. This same sort of action has been true regarding the F. E. R. A. and other units of federal relief projects. In Florida, they organized the workers to force the industrialists to adopt N. R. A. codes, while in New York they organized them to fight against industries accepting N. R. A. codes, stating that it subjected the workers to lower wages and regimentation.

They agitate in the United States against military training of youth in America, yet in Soviet Russia they are forcing 4,000,000 youth to train for the army. They urge the worker in the United States to refuse to work for less than \$2 to \$5 a day and for longer than thirty hours a week, yet in Soviet Russia they force the worker to produce for as many as ten and twelve hours a day with only one day off a week and this in return for a food card, plus an average of \$6 a week. In the United States they urge the tenant farmer to take the land and its produce from the owner. In Soviet Russia the government confiscates all land and property from workers and small farmers, as well as that which they produce, and shoots them as counter-revolutionists if they fail to deliver the produce to their produce collectors. They condemn a protective tariff in the United States, and at will set up complete embargoes in Russia. They condemn child labor in the United States, yet the Russian children are forced to work in mines, tunnels, subways, and assist in all other construction work. They urge the

worker in the United States to refuse to hold allegiance to their government yet force everyone in Russia to swear allegiance to that government. This is only a partial picture of the inconsistencies of the communist movement.

In the United States there are five communist parties: the Communist Party (majority); the Communist Party (minority)—the largest; the Proletarian Party; the Communist Party (opposition), and the Communist League of America. These are all preaching the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence and advocating the Marxian communist system. All swear allegiance to Soviet Russia and the Third International theories.

The Communist Party (minority) is an avowed branch of the Third International. The others are camps for uncontrollable party members. The Third International is the leader of the international communist movement, having sections in fifty-two countries, the largest of which is the Communist Party of Russia. The international headquarters of the Third (or Communist) International is in the Kremlin, and so is the capitol of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, supposedly the government of Russia today. All sections of the Third International are pledged to carry out the dictates of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Congress of the International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International consists of Stalin, who is also dictator of the Soviet government and its Commissar of Defense and Labor; Kalinin, president of the U. S. S. R.; Molotov, commissar of the army and navy of the Soviet government; William Z. Foster, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the United States; and several other communist leaders of the communist parties of Hungary, China, Germany, Soviet Russia, France, South America, Poland, and of other countries.

The Communist Party is composed of all those who belong to the party proper and pay dues to it. A communist is one who belongs to *any* of the hundreds of communist movements, or who believes in the principles of communism, as set forth in the communist manifesto written by Karl Marx and as promoted by the Third International.

The Communist Party of the United States, like the Communist International, is divided into sections. The United States is divided into twenty districts, each operating as a unit within itself. Each of these districts is divided into sections. The sections are sub-divided into units, and the units into cells. There are over 15,000 units in the United States, and possibly 100,000 cells. Each is responsible for direction to the Communist Party, which in turn is responsible to the Communist Interna-

tional. This is the so-called "political" group of communism in the United States.

The communist movement (not the party) in the United States is also divided into many other sections. For instance, there is an organization parading as a national union. This, like the Communist Party, is also divided into hundreds of sections called "labor unions," all of which are subsidiaries of the main organization, the Trade Union Unity League. The Trade Union Unity League is the American section of the International of Labor Unions of Russia. Taken apart, this is the Taxi Drivers Industrial Union, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, the National Textile Workers Industrial Union, the Unemployed Councils, the Workers Ex-Service Men's League, and so on. There are nearly 100 of these national so-called unions, having thousands of local branches all over the country. This movement also has many "Rank and File Committees" bedded within legitimate American labor unions, which committees are made up of "left wingers" who have bled within those unions for the purpose of capturing control.

Then we find the so-called cultural movements which are made up of clubs, camps, forums, fraternal societies, schools, art centers, writers clubs, teachers groups and literary groups. There are approximately 100 of these national organizations with numerous state sections and local units and cells. There is the youth movement divided into units for all ages—leagues, campus movements, clubs, camps and sport groups. There is the pacifist movement active throughout the nation today. The atheist movement is divided into Sunday school units against religion, anti-religious clubs, and forums. The racial movement, the teachers movement, the defense groups, which agitate for the release of those arrested, pay bails and post bonds for those awaiting trial, in addition to supplying free legal assistance to those on trial. Still another powerful movement is among the foreign born, negroes and Jews of the nation.

And of most importance to the communist cause is the "Agit-prop," or agitation and propaganda section, which in the United States publishes and directs several hundred publications ranging from one-page weekly leaflets to a sixty-eight page monthly magazine. It includes weeklies of four pages to twenty-eight page daily newspapers, the aggregate circulation of which possibly totals over a half million in the United States. There are news services, wire services, millions of pamphlets and books which are issued in addition to these, all pounding against our government and institutions and urging the overthrow of same.

For the first time in our history, the main organ of the Communist Party of the United States has official representation in the press galleries of both the United States House of Representatives and the

United States Senate, as does the Soviet Government Telegraph News Service. I may add that the two persons representing the communist publication were not long ago publicity agents for a certain pacifist organization with national headquarters in Washington, which may not seem so strange to many readers.

I have only briefly touched upon the movement in general. I could deal considerably further with this particular phase of communism, but I feel I must briefly discuss another phase of this national plague.

I have pictured the dangerous stage to which communism has built up its poisonous network in this country. It has gathered into its net thousands of our people, some of whom are easily swayed, and others who are natural traitors to our government; some who in selfishness believe that in the new set-up of government they will become a part of the controlling dictatorship and others who are merely weak-minded. But the most difficult question to understand is why any minister should follow a program which openly preaches and practices the destruction of not only our government but of the Christian religion and himself as well. Communists plainly state that they do not believe in God. They have destroyed most of the churches in Russia. The youth of Russia are taught there is no God. Members of the Communist Party are pledged to fight religion and religious teachings, and those who break this pledge are severely punished. No man can believe in and follow the teachings of Marx and at the same time believe in and follow the doctrines of Christ, for the teachings of one is in direct conflict to the other. The success of communism depends upon the killing off, the imprisonment or exile of the older generation who cannot be made to believe in communism even though forced to follow it, and by the educating of the oncoming generation to communistic principles.

If we are familiar with the history of the Russian revolution, we know that it was not a "workers' revolution." It was not a revolution brought about by workers but by the intelligentsia. Let me quote a passage from William Z. Foster's Lesson No. 2 to communists in the United States. In this he reviews the revolution in Russia for his henchmen in this country, composed of ex-jail birds, former anarchists, college professors, writers on economic theories, many ministers of the gospel and a sprinkling of misrepresentatives of workers and farmers. This is what he says (page 112): "Nearly all of the distinguished and effective leaders, from Lenin down, came from the *middle and upper classes*; few indeed among them are *actual workers and peasants*. It has been truly said that the revolutionary movement in Russia *did not originate with the masses*, but was *brought to them by the intellectuals*. This is partly true everywhere."

Lenin never professed being a laborer, he was born of nobility and educated at the University of Kazan and Petersburg University, and as Foster in a complimentary tone says in his Lesson No. 2, "Lenin was a born rebel." He devoted his life to leading rebellions in Russia, and later, when elevated to the position of dictator, began to organize rebellions throughout the world through the aid of the Third International which he and his henchmen organized and breathed life into.

Trotsky never did a real day's work in his life, and was, as Foster says in his lesson, "another natural rebel." He was highly educated and had agitated and led rebellions from New York City to Siberia. We learn that Stalin, although born of a middle class family that were so religious that they placed him as a youth in a Theological Seminary to study for the priesthood, showed up his rebellious traits early in life and refused to follow that profession, became a bank robber, held up the bank of Tiflis, led continued rebellions and served sentences in more prisons for his misdeeds and violations than possibly any other man in modern history. These men were in succession the "dictators of the proletarian government" of Russia. Stalin is still holding that position. These men were chiefs among the organizers of the revolution in Russia which cost the lives of millions of innocent men, women and children. The innocent people were murdered when they refused to surrender their modest homes, their small farms, their business enterprises, their meager savings, their religion, or their right to free speech. When we know these things we begin to realize why it was not a "workers' revolution, but a revolution led by the scheming minds of theoretical "intellectuals," coupled with the conspiring minds of natural born revolutionists and racketeers.

"As ye sow, so shall ye reap." Russia is now reaping the seeds which were sown during the revolution. We may all admit that the government under the Czar was not all that was desired. But the people of Russia merely transferred the stake to which they were chained from the hands of one ruthless ruler to another more ruthless. The leaders of communism in Russia tell you the people rule, when only one and one-half per cent of the people (the chosen few) put their stamp of approval on a slate of dictators already selected for them by the officials of the Soviet who control the Communist Party—the only party in Russia. These men wish to succeed themselves, and they do. Ninety-eight per cent of the people have absolutely no voice in the selection of the rulers. They are held to subjection by an armed force and spy system which outranks any armed force in the world today in size and power. They cannot revolt. They cannot shake off their chains. Any attempt to do this means immediate death.

I have painted a picture of communism in theory

and practice and the set-up in the United States. Now what are they doing in this country? They are preaching class hatred, racial hatred and religious hatred. They are lying about our form of government and painting an untruthful picture of the communist government of Russia. They are educating our youth to hate our form of government and its institutions, to disrespect their parents and to deny God. They are pitting workers against so-called capitalists and against the American government which they say is a "capitalistic" government and against the church which they say is a "capitalist" tool. They tell the workers and farmers of America that they will confiscate the property of capitalists and turn it over to them. The workers of Russia were told the same thing but seventeen years have elapsed and no Russian owns anything as yet. They are putting one religion against another, lying about the Catholics to the Protestants, the Jews to the Gentiles, and vice versa, and fighting all religions themselves. They are agitating the workers to strikes and riots, first to break down our commercial and economic system, and then to keep it in that condition so that Russia can find markets in which to sell while Russian people

starve; yes, over 10,000,000 within the short space of seventeen years of communist control of Russia.

That the stability of American institutions is remotely threatened by revolutionary radicalism is a contention dismissed as fantastic by those who have not probed beneath the surface of the general subversive movement which has as its objective the undermining of the three targets of revolutionary radicalism—the state, the church and the family.

To what extent other subversive activities, embracing pacifism, anti-nationalism, various forms of self-styled "liberalism" and literary libertinism, together with political demagogism are making headway along with communism and socialism in creating a destructive national psychology is another question that deserves discussion, but not in this article.

In the face of the incessant attacks made by all of these destructive elements upon the fundamentals of the existing order, how much is being done to implant in the minds of Americans, old and young, a better comprehension and appreciation of the value of our traditional institutions, policies and ideals? What are you doing to defend your country against the borers-from-within?

Communist Action vs. Catholic Action

By HELAN MAREE TOOLE, PH.D.
(Alumna Rosary College, Chicago)

Address delivered at the College of New Rochelle at a Symposium on Communism held under the auspices of the College Bureau, New York State Chapter of the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae, February 9, 1935.

IN the modern clash between materialism, more exactly the dialectic materialism of the Soviets and the Roman Catholic Church, there are moments of encouragement and discouragement from our point of view. Ross Hoffman in his admirable book, *The Restoration*, adequately depicts the situation.

The Catholic Church is more manifestly alive today than anything else in the Western world; it is the one thing not compromised in the debacle of our culture; it is the one thing capable of staying the Communist threat of destroying our civilization; it is the one thing Catholic enough to repair our broken world.

The Catholic mind is grappling with modern anarchy in every field and its only formidable opponent is atheist Marxism. Every day it grows plainer that the fate of Western man as a human and not as a mere

animal being, depends on the outcome of that struggle. Once again, as so often in the past, the Church is warring upon madness and perversion, fighting for the preservation of human nature that men may have life and have it more abundantly.¹

The aim of this paper will be to show the program of action used by the Communist to attain militant atheism and Soviet power, dictatorship of the proletariat, and the rôle of Catholic Action, in bringing about Christian transformation, which will be the product of Christian heroism, in the words of Jacques Maritain. The paper will confine itself for the most part to activity in the United States alone.

Catholic Action consists not merely of the pursuit of personal Christian perfection, its highest aim, but also of a true apostolate in which Catholics of all social classes participate and gradually become united in thought and action, concentrating on

¹ Hoffman, Ross J., *The Restoration*, New York, 1934, p. 10.

sound doctrine and on increasing legitimate social activity, while being constantly helped and sustained by the authority of the Bishops. Whereas, Communism "teaches and pursues a twofold aim: merciless class war and complete abolition of private ownership."²

Its body of doctrine lies in the works of Marx, Engel, Lenin; its creed and catechism lies in the *politgramota*, or course of instruction in Communist political and economic ideology; its ecumenical council exists to determine matters of faith and discipline in the congress of the Communist party.³ It emphasizes its world Messianic mission and revolutionary movement, thus nullifying any heretical or dissenting thought or action. The program is to be carried on through concentrated action and biased propaganda. Thus we observe that intellectual liberty does not exist among the Soviets, because of party and State dictation. This may ultimately lead to a "cemetery of intellects, a storehouse of mental coffins."⁴ Also in Russia, those who can, are still living on the "curtain remnants from the Philistine culture of the West."⁵ This indicates an enforced poverty, for the average Russian still has the wants and desires of a normal human being. The voluntary poverty assumed by Catholic Religious and zealous individuals offers a marked contrast; it is a triumphant poverty looking toward man's great destiny; and only the latter can understand these two lines of Louise Imogene Guiney:

O close my hands upon Beatitude,
Not on its toys—⁶

Catholic Action emphasizes individual action, pervaded by "Christian moderation and universal charity" in looking "forward to the complete and much-desired renewal of human society and the Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ."⁷ But the Bolsheviks emphasize the Party Line, about which there is a sad uniformity, and unquestioning conformity to any suggestions or ideas from the higher officials. Yet the Communist party, the revolutionary party of the proletariat leads the struggle of the working class for the construction of Socialism. It is:

the vanguard of the working class, and consists of the best, most class-conscious, most active and most courageous members of that class. It incorporates the whole body of the experience of the proletarian struggle. Basing itself upon the revolutionary theory of Marxism, and representing the general and lasting

interests of the whole of the working class, the party personifies the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will, and of proletarian revolutionary action. It is a revolutionary organization, bound by an iron discipline and strict revolutionary rules of democratic centralism—which can be carried out owing to its loyalty to the revolution, its ability to maintain inseparable ties with the proletarian masses and to its correct political leadership, which is constantly verified and clarified by the experience of the masses themselves.⁸

Now we approach a consideration of the Communist program in the United States. At the eighth convention of the Communist party of the U. S. A., held in Cleveland, April 2-8, 1934, this statement was made:

The United States is most favorable for the establishment of Socialism. Its large-scale concentrated industry and huge proletariat, its accumulated wealth and productive forces, with the enormous supply of raw materials, provide the material basis for a quick change in the life and conditions of the country. If the workers will take power, they will in a very short time radically improve the life of all toilers—industrial workers, farmers, white-collar workers . . . providing a high degree of comfort and well-being for the toiling masses. . . . There is no way out of the crisis except by breaking the domination of the rule of the monopolist capitalist class and taking the road pointed out by the Soviet Union as a source of inspiration and encouragement to the oppressed throughout the world.⁹

The Communist party aims to destroy capitalism, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to abolish classes, and to reconstruct human life on the basis of Communism. It gives political training in Marxism-Leninism to the advanced and militant workers. The party watches tirelessly every economic, political, social, or cultural event or trend, always pointing out to the worker what must be done to achieve the overthrow of capitalism. This plan of struggle for the working class is called the Party Line.

Aside from this every Communist must be active in any organization to which he belongs and in any place where he works. The group or Communist nucleus must be established in the factory or the mine, in unions or fraternal organizations. The nucleus discusses existing problems, instructs its members to act in the best interests of the working class.

A party nucleus holds its meetings every week, and the key problem is promoting an organization against the employer. Each member of the nucleus is in touch with other workers who are constantly distributing pamphlets and leaflets. In certain instances they have to publish a workers' paper to expose the shop and to organize for the struggle, while the matter is kept a secret from the owners and any informants. Frequently they will invite nonparty men to join in the conspiracy, thereby gaining the confidence of the workers. The party will grow and finally they will attempt to lead an

² Encyclical Letter, "Forty Years After," N. C. W. C., Washington, 1933, p. 34.

³ Chamberlin, W. H., *Russia's Iron Age*, Boston, 1934, p. 18.

⁴ Von-Kühnelt-Leddihn, Erik M. R., *The Gates of Hell*, New York, 1933, p. 210.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁶ "Deo Optimo Maximo."

⁷ "Forty Years After," p. 45.

⁸ *The Communist Party*, New York, 1934, p. 3.

⁹ *The Way Out: A Program for American Labor*, New York, 1934, p. 13.

open struggle against the employer or the State. Then the Communists will organize a strike committee and also an Unemployed Council. The men who become mass leaders in the ensuing strike are those who perform outstanding work in the struggle.

If not members of shop councils then the Communists organize locally in the place of residence, into a street nucleus, which consists of the Communists in the same neighborhood, ten to thirty, no more. When a street nucleus becomes too large, part of it is organized into a second, and given jurisdiction in another territory.

If there is a shop in the district the nucleus arranges open-air meetings in front of the shop at closing time, and the interested workers listen and receive pamphlets. This practice continues until a contact is made. The group of created sympathetic inside workers makes the task of organization easier. The nucleus also concentrates on unemployment. It makes a canvass of all the unemployed in the territory, organizes from among them an Unemployed Council, fights with it for unemployment relief; if it is essential the street nucleus calls a demonstration in front of the local relief bureau insisting on aid. It also fights against the eviction of the unemployed, fights for free gas and electricity for the unemployed, fights for the release of imprisoned local workers. It assists strikers' pickets and local demonstrations against the oppression of the Negro in the neighborhood.

The shop and street nuclei distribute Communist papers, magazines, and pamphlets. They induce workers to read so that after reading about the class struggle and recognizing that it really exists from a subjective point of view the worker is eager to participate in the revolutionary struggle.

There are also Party Fractions. The Communists belonging to any organization form a special fraction which discusses the problems of its organization and makes decisions for its members. The Party Fraction advocates militancy and strives to transform the whole organization into a real fighting unit.

Since Communist activity requires training, every party nucleus is a training school giving theoretical classes to members and conducting discussions on current questions. The capable militant members are sent to special training schools. Unity and cohesion is the struggle of these organizations. Difficulties and problems are carefully discussed and the decision finally made is binding on all the members. The whole formation of the party is built on the basis of this democratic centralism, that is, every

member is entitled to a vote and all are free to criticize the activities of the organization, but at the same time they must follow the central plan and bow to the rulings of the leaders.

Now to review the organization of the party: The Communist International has as its motto, "Workers of the World Unite." A delegate from each Communist Party attends every few years an International Communist Congress meeting for two or three weeks. The experiences of a world-wide struggle are shared and others mapped out. The Congress elects an executive committee which is the governing body and this body's rule is supreme. This committee and the Presidium conduct the affairs of the Communist International (Comintern) from Moscow because this is the "capital of the only workers' and peasants' government in the world, and the Comintern can meet there freely." The Communist party of the United States is part of the world organization. Mr. Olgin says: "The workers of the U. S. A. will proceed from struggle to struggle, from victory to victory, until, rising in a revolution, they will crush the capitalist State, establish a Soviet State, abolish the cruel and bloody system of capitalism and proceed to the upbuilding of Socialism."¹⁰

At the head of the party is the central committee elected at the party convention. In the districts are district committees elected at district conventions. (The country is divided into twenty districts.) Each district is divided into sections and each section comprises a number of units as the shop and street nuclei. Under the district and section committees are the various fractions. They discuss in each meeting what each member has to do in the next few days. To give an example: One will confront a boss with a worker's demand; a second will lead a group of unemployed workers to the home relief bureau to demand relief for those discriminated against; a third will participate in the picket line; a fourth will put back into an apartment the furniture removed from the evicted home; a fifth will cautiously speak to a group of marine workers trying to affiliate them with the marine workers' industrial union; a sixth will speak to a group of workers engaged in an ammunition plant trying to make them understand the necessity of organizing in order to be ready to stop work in case of war; a seventh will distribute leaflets calling for demonstration to protest about the United States and Cuba; an eighth will be leading the miners in a strike; a ninth will be speaking in favor of a local Communist candidate; and the tenth will be showing the workers a Soviet film.¹¹

Under the party's guidance is the Young Communist International. In this country the Young Communist League numbers six thousand and has increased its shop nuclei to fifty-six.¹² It partici-

¹⁰ Olgin, M. J., *Why Communism?* New York, 1933, p. 96. The outline of Communist action has been readapted from *The Communist Party*, New York, 1934, and *Why Communism?* pp. 84-96.

¹¹ *Why Communism?* p. 94.

¹² *A Program for American Youth: Manifesto and Resolutions of Seventh National Convention, Young Communist League of U. S. A.* (June 22-27, 1934), p. 13.

pates in strikes; gives leadership to revolts in the C. C. C. camps; conducts struggles for Negro rights; and urges protection against war and Fascism.

Their program according to the Manifesto and Resolutions of the Seventh National Convention is: (1) a broadening of the united front against the Roosevelt program of war and Fascism, and winning youth for the defense of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviet Republic; (2) making the shop a revolutionary fortress; (3) working in the trade unions and training youth for the revolutionary trade unions, especially among marine workers, steel employees and packing men; (4) striving for unemployment insurance; (5) rebelling against forced labor, the work demanded by the "forest legion" of the C. C. C. by the Government (they fear the C. C. C. may transform American youth into storm troops); (6) fighting for Negro rights; (7) working among the farm youth and winning the boys in the "Y's" and the settlement houses for the revolutionary class struggle; and, (8) sanctioning a mass children's movement.¹³

The above follows closely Lenin's teaching relative to revolutionary education, namely, that all knowledge of Communism from Communism pamphlets and publications is absolutely worthless without work and struggle; and that the Youth League must be an independent organization in order to cast fear into the opportunists.¹⁴

The Young Communist League manifests great interest in the Pioneers, an organization for workers' and poor farmers' boys and girls. In the United States, the central agency, the National Pioneer Council, is in New York, including a representative from each parent organization. Activities are recommended to the Pioneer districts and they in turn transmit the information to the troops, to endeavor to fulfill the directions as well as possible. The Pioneer password is, "Always ready." The Pioneer pledge states, "I stand ready for the cause of the working class in its struggle for freedom and pledge to observe the Pioneer (or the International Workers' Order or The Young Defenders) rule at all times."¹⁵ The official organ of this group in the United States is the *New Pioneer*.

A comic strip which occurred on the back cover of the *New Pioneer* for January, 1935, is worth noting, namely, Jack Herman's "Comrade Kids." The landlord on entering a tenant's home announces, "Pay your rent or get out." When the tenant fails to comply, an eviction notice is secured, and the landlord warns, "Have 'em thrown out and treat 'em rough." The apprehensive young Pioneers stand around the home of the poor worker and brag,

"We'll see that they don't get evicted." The group go down to the corner of Liberty and Easy Streets, and shift the signs on the post; then they advance to the home bearing the number 92 and change it to 60; finally returning to 60 and replacing it with 92. The evictors come and ask the children the location of 92 Liberty Street, and the wily youngsters send them to the landlord's home. The latter, astounded when the movers arrive at his place pleads that he is the landlord, but all he hears is, "Nuts. Let him have it boys." Bang! Crash! "Our orders was to treat 'em rough." So we see the landlord wounded and bruised in the midst of a chaotic room.

The Pioneer Song Book is equally interesting, since it shows the distorted and twisted notions that are being inculcated in American children's minds. We will quote a few of their rhymes:

HUNGER CHILDREN

Empty is the cupboard, no pillow for the head,
We are the hunger children, who fight for milk and bread.
We are the workers' children, who must be fed. Cheer!

ALWAYS READY

Pioneers we're always ready, ready for the workers' need.
Staunch as steel and standing steady, Pioneers we're in the lead!
In the lead, the wide world over, in the lead to show the way.
We will bring the red October as we sing our song of May.

THE BUILDERS

We are the builders.
We build the future.
The future world lies in our hands.
We swing our hammers.
We use our weapons against our foes.
In every land. In every land.

Mother Goose on the Bread Line,
Sing a Song of Six Per Cent.

Sing a song of six per cent, ten per cent and more.
That's where all my labor went, whom was I working for.
I worked for the Queen in the parlor—the King in the counting house.
The King was counting the dollars to clothe his lazy spouse.
My wife was worn with worry so the Queen could have no woe.
The King said, "Hurry, hurry, why do you loiter so?" I labored and toiled without ceasing.
Never I groaned or complained but the reign of pain was increasing,
And it always poured when it rained and after these years of devotion
I was thrown away on the heap. "You waste," they said, "too much motion
And after all labor is cheap." So sing a song of profits, starving workers die, nine and fifty rich men, they have all the pie.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-22.

¹⁴ *The Fifteenth Anniversary of the Young Communist International* in "The Communist International," January 5, 1935, p. 27.

¹⁵ *Campion, Martha, Who Are the Young Pioneers?* New York, 1934, pp. 27, 28.

Some day when set before them with many a groan
and cry
They'll find a hammer and sickle is carved on every
pie the same as did Czar Nicolai.
How could the old guy sing, but wasn't that a dandy
dish to set before a king?
So sing a song of six per cent, ten per cent and
more . . .

TOM-TOM

Tom-Tom, the striker's-son, saw his Dad shot down
by a gun,
When Tom-Tom grew up tall, he was the bravest
striker of them all.¹⁶

In Russia the Young Pioneers is an organization for children between the ages of eight and sixteen, and they are distinguished by red scarfs. In Russia they march out to camps in summer where they are given courses in physical training, woodcraft and other Boy Scout practices. At "Christmas time the Young Pioneers are armed with little primers containing smatterings of Marxian comparative religion, mythology and other information inimical to the Christmas tree." In the Soviet election the troops of the Y. P. march in line and announce instructions to the Soviet delegates. They also read the *Pioneer Pravda* containing the latest measures of the agrarian policy and legends circulated in capitalistic countries.¹⁷

We must also consider Communist propaganda in the United States. Litvinoff once made this statement to President Roosevelt: "The Soviet Government undertakes not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group, and to prevent activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials or any organization or group which has an aim to overthrow or preparation for overthrow of, or bringing about by force a change in, political or social order of the whole or part of the United States, its Territories or possessions." This statement obligated the Soviet Government to suppress or expel the Communist International which was working for the overthrow of the United States, but we understand that a Congress of the International was held in Moscow in 1934. What was this promise worth? Senator Barbour said on January 23rd (quoted in the *New York Sun*) that the insidious propaganda of the Communists has not only permeated the industrial field but the military establishments of the United States as well. "It is a fact well recognized by the commander of the Army and Navy that Communists are actively engaged at the present time in attempting from within to destroy the morale of our armed forces."

Recently leaders in the Communist movement were urged to convert the prevailing discontent

¹⁶ Potamkin, Harry Alan, *Pioneer Song Book*, New York, 1933, pp. 4-30.

¹⁷ *Russia's Iron Age*, p. 233.

¹⁸ *The Communist Party*, p. 39.

¹⁹ Yaroslavsky, E., *Religion in the U. S. S. R.*, New York, 1934, p. 5.

relative to the NRA into a gigantic struggle of the proletariat of the United States.

One of their leading propaganda organs is the daily paper, in New York, *The Daily Worker*. Volunteer Communists sell it on the street. Copies of back issues are delivered in the neighborhood whether they are wanted or not in order to arouse interest in the class struggle.

The Communists try through devious means to win the Negro in the South. At the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International held at Moscow in 1928, a resolution was drafted upon this question, dictating their theoretical position and the tactics to be used in this country. The "self-determination" of the Black Belt was essential. First of all the Negro peasantry were to be organized. "Cadres" of militant, urban Negroes were trained to organize the "peasants." The result of such action may be an outbreak comparable to the memorable one near Camp Hill, Tallapoosa, Ala.

We all realize that the Communist party will continue to struggle against the "left" and right opportunism, as well as against conciliation toward opportunist deviations. This struggle on two fronts is the law of the development of Bolshevism.¹⁸

The Communists also promote an anti-religious program of action which states in part:

The Communist party of the Soviet Union is guided by the conviction that only conscious and deliberate planning of all the social and economic activities of the masses will cause religious prejudice to die out. The party strives for the complete dissolution of the ties between the exploiting classes and the organizations of religious propaganda, facilitates the real emancipation of the working masses from religious prejudices and organizes the widest possible scientific, educational and anti-religious propaganda.¹⁹

The League of Militant Atheists fights religion because it is a counter-revolutionary force, an ally and a weapon of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the movement. The League follows Lenin's advice to utilize every method available to stimulate men to criticize religion themselves. At the present writing the League is not satisfied with the work accomplished, for which we are immensely grateful.

For a moment we will consider the religious problem in Russia and be grateful that it has not conquered the United States. Before the War there were 50,000 churches; now there are approximately 38,000. Moscow had 600 churches before the War and now it has 100. The priest and ministers are classified with the insane, insofar as they are disenfranchized and deprived of certain rights. Until 1929 there was a type of religious freedom, and anti-religious propaganda was recognized under Article IV; now religious Faiths have the right of existence. (But can they really exist and function as institutions?) The test of physical and mental courage is to be religious in Russia. One of their

leading techniques in the field of propaganda is the anti-religious museum, as St. Isaac's Cathedral in Leningrad, which is a combination of the traditional background of bas-reliefs, paintings, and anti-religious propaganda. Above a collection of religious books in Old Slavonic is a text from Lenin to the effect that the purpose of religion is to "justify exploitation and to give a reduced price ticket to heaven."²⁰

A second technique is the combination of atheistic slogans and suggestive pictorial representations. For example, all face cards in certain card packs cast disrepute on some Faith: Hearts, the Roman Catholic priest; Diamonds, the Jewish rite; Spades, the Orthodox rite; Clubs, the Oriental medicine man and a Buddhist figure; the Joker depicts the Deity as a capitalist in evening clothes holding the reins which control the four religions. The back of the cards show Mephistopheles carrying away the souls of the damned.²¹

Even the children's A B C blocks are affected. B, for instance, shows a red broom sweeping out the Bible and the icons, with the following appeal imprinted on the block: "Give up your brother's fear of God."²²

There is also an attempt in Russia to destroy all semblance of Christmas. Trees are not to be sold; it is interesting to read that trees were sold last year after December 23rd in certain stores. This pertinent statement is found in the Library of the Young Atheists: "The struggle against the Christmas tree is a struggle against religion and class enemies. Behind the back of Uncle Frost hide the priest and the kulak."²³ Shall we bend every effort to keep this spirit and attitude out of the United States?

How can we answer the program of Red Russia? We respond, with Catholic Action. But is Catholic Action active enough? Father Gillis aptly wrote in the August *Catholic World*, "The day of the big game has arrived and it is not an indoor game; it is not a game but a battle, and battles are fought not in barracks but on land and sea and in the air. We've got to get out there where the atheists are. If we don't they'll come in where we are."

Catholics today must be alive not only as individuals but as members of the Church, which is a living union of the Faithful under and with their Bishops. The Catholics are part of this living union and consequently have a real duty. Pope Pius XI in his letter to the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon stated: "As every Christian receives the supernatural life

which circulates in the veins of the Mystical Body of Christ, that abundant life that Christ said He came to bring on earth, so we must transfuse it into others who either do not possess it or possess it too sparsely and more in appearance than in reality."²⁴

Catholic Action unlike Communist Action has a spiritual end, the salvation of man. Also the former respects the dignity of man, the natural law, and societal institutions; and urges manifestations of love, justice, charity, and equity among men. It procures the real saving of souls through "diffusing the kingdom of Our Lord in individuals, families, and society," and uniting "under its banner of peace, in perfect and disciplined harmony, all those Faithful who intend to bring their contribution to so holy and so vast a work of the apostolate."²⁵

Again Catholic Action presupposes the fidelity of the Catholics to those means of

personal sanctification and those evidences of public worship without which there can be no Christian life at all. First of all, the Catholic will be not only faithful to, he will diligently cultivate the spirit and practice of prayer; attendance at Holy Mass; the frequent reception of the Sacraments; particularly the life-giving Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, and that liturgical life of the Church which manifests the mysteries of Christ's life whereby we both watch and are able to imitate Him.²⁶

To consider the organization of Catholic Action: it is a central, motivating force which has been organized in conformity with the regulations laid down by the Pope and it is directly or indirectly dependent on the hierarchy. Around this revolve the auxiliary organizations in the Church which are affecting this movement.

The National Council of Catholic Women maintain the National Catholic Social Service School and its students should be valuable crusaders in promoting social justice. The National Council of Catholic Men provide a radio program on Sundays, bringing to the radio public outstanding priests and it is almost impossible to measure the good performed by that organization in this respect. The National Catholic Welfare Conference, the America Press, the Paulist Press, and others all contribute in disseminating timely pamphlets. The Catholic Press through its papers and magazines, as *America*, *The Catholic World*, *The Commonweal* and *The Queen's Work* present valuable material.

The adult education programs carried on by three Catholic institutions should aid in the struggle against false doctrines and thought. They are: St. Charles Seminary, Columbus, Ohio; Rosary College, River Forest, Ill., and Fenwick High School, Oak Park, Ill.

The Catholic youth organizations have done outstanding work in interesting youth in healthy activities. And where there is a healthy atmosphere of thought and way of living, Communism is not welcomed with outstretched hands. The Sodalities

²⁰ *Russia's Iron Age*, p. 313.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 318.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

²⁴ *Holy Father Reviews Aims of Catholic Action*, "Catholic Action," May, 1934, p. 7.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁶ Cicognani, Rev. Amleto G., *Requisites of Catholic Action*, "Catholic Action," July, 1934, p. 7.

are urging action but again not much has been accomplished.

In New York the Trinity League has been formed to combat atheism and its method lies in discussion classes, conducted by the Paulist Fathers. The League hopes to establish a general medium of opposition to the spread of atheism through the press and the radio. Consequently it has started a press clipping bureau and is inaugurating a radio program to set forth the Catholic position and to refute the incorrect statements published in secular papers and magazines relative to Catholicism.

In Brooklyn, the Labor Guild has been active. Near Union Square in New York a Catholic Worker's School has been established. From the same headquarters is published the admirable paper, *The Catholic Worker*, under the able leadership of Dorothy Day and Dorothy Weston. Its circulation is over 65,000, and we earnestly wish that it could be increased to 100,000 and above. This paper, which opposes Communism and urges social justice, costs only twenty-five cents a year. Its offices and school are at 114 Charles Street.

Catholics boast of the glorious past of the Church, the early Christians who loved one another, the ages of Faith when men followed the Sermon on the Mount and practiced the corporal works of mercy and reared an enviable civilization. But that is in the past. A new Christendom or a new pagandom is ahead. Instead of being lethargic, action, organization and individual responsibility, all are needed. Our accomplishments in the years since Communism has expanded have been slight, but we feel that certain of these small undertakings will lead to larger movements and thinking individuals will follow Catholicism and not Communism. To carry this out, faith and sincerity, sympathy and understanding, honesty and intelligence are first requisites, and second, concrete, constructive action, and third,

following the triple emblem: Prayer, Action, Sacrifice.

What can be done? First of all—act. The apostle of the working man must be the working man himself. We must also use the great resources of Catholic training by instructing youth, by founding Catholic associations, by social congresses, by having sound publications and by study groups. *The Catholic Worker* in a recent paper suggested that trade guilds be formed to combat the Communist, Socialist and bourgeois already in existence; that no Catholic trade union existed in the United States; that workers' colleges be established throughout the country; that Communist and bourgeois propaganda be eliminated from textbooks in our schools; that farming communes be established where Catholic thought might flourish; and that the medieval hospices be maintained throughout the cities. Meanwhile needy Catholics must be given food, clothing and shelter, because St. Thomas said that for the practice of virtue, a certain amount of goods was indispensable.

"Quadragesimo Anno" is the guide in Catholic Action. The Church

goes forward to meet the multitude of the humblest workers with special solicitude; and not only so that these may enjoy those benefits to which they have a right according to justice and equity, but still more so that they may be taken from the insidious and pernicious influence of Communism, which, with diabolical perfidy, endeavors to stifle the light of religion in the world and expose the workers to the sure danger of falling again, in a more or less distant day, into the same state of abjectness from which they have been laboriously raised.²⁷

We may summarize by saying that religion alone can destroy the evil at its roots. Catholic Action can subdue and forever destroy Soviet power, dictatorship of the proletariat, and reconstruct the social order through Christ the King if we begin to act immediately.

²⁷ *Holy Father Reviews Aims of Catholic Action*, p. 8.



Communism and Complacency

RUTH KATHERINE BYRNS

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GRIM women with rundown shoes and discouraged men with muscles getting soft for want of work listened to the young Communist leader as she harangued the crowd to unite against the capitalists who were driving them into poverty, slavery and starvation. There was a murmur of agreement when she shouted, "Why should your children starve while the children of the rich eat the best in the land and ride around in limousines?"

Another night it was a boy just out of high school who spoke with stirring oratory to a group of unemployed, typical Americans in a city park. He won applause when he asked, "Why should you go without butter where there is butter to spare? Why should you hunger for bread where there is too much flour? Why should you need meat in a country where the farmers are raising more stock than they can sell?"

A former college student, aglow with the fever that fosters revolution, spoke with nervous enthusiasm many evenings last summer in a middle west city. Gathered around him every evening were groups of disheartened men who greeted his words with nods and sighs. "The capitalist system has failed," he argued. "Look at the stock market! Look at the factories no longer running! Look at the banks! Look at the bankruptcies!"

During the winter the boy's influence spread to larger cities where the field for discontent and radical thought was kept fertile by despair, worry, hunger, and need. Last week the newspapers carried the story of a hunger march, organized and led by this young leader. Over 15,000 men and women followed the Communist through city streets and waved red flags in the faces of mildly curious spectators.

These audacious young Communists are but three of the many who are discussing their theories wherever they can get a listener—in college dormitories, on village streets, around the camp fires of the hobo jungles, and in the living rooms of the *litterati*. We who are Catholics believe that the fundamental theories of those who spread the doctrines of a Godless Communism are wrong, but we must admit that many of the things they say are grounded in fact and truth. Should it be Communism to ask why thousands of children must go hungry in a land where there is food to spare? Should it be radical to rebel at the sight of millions of men pacing the streets month in and month out, seeking in vain for work and honest wages? Is it

revolutionary to ask how long we can expect a country to continue if it is based on a balance of poverty and luxury, want and wealth, pauperism and corruption?

Such questions are communistic, radical, or revolutionary simply because those who are asking them are Communists or radicals. The present period of economic distress has been seized by these propagandists as the best material from which to make arguments and because so many of their charges and complaints are justified, there is real danger that the influence of these false leaders will continue to increase. A critical listener can easily say that the young Communists offer little of practical theory and plans—only a well-worded attack on conditions that exist. The citizen with a home and an income may well ask how the Communists would better conditions, but the men and women who have little but despair and discouragement may think that their lot would hardly be worse under a new régime.

The great danger in the whole situation is that while the Communist is suggesting his thin shell of theory as a basis for the inevitable readjustments and changes that the future will bring, the men and women who might offer the firm foundations of Christian ethics, moral philosophy, and Catholic principles are keeping in the background. Though Communism would mean the upheaval of all that is happiness and security to the American, and especially to the Catholic, he lets it gain ground before his very eyes and placidly ignores it.

If there was ever a time ripe for the spread and practice of Christian principles, it is the present. The terrible results of a progress that is predominantly materialistic are so glaring that no one can deny them. The unfortunate effects of corruption, dishonesty, and injustice are so conspicuous that none can fail to see them. At every turn we confront evidence that demonstrates what society must expect when the moral law is forgotten—murder, kidnaping, organized vice, robbery, and perjury. Now, when the results of non-Christian behavior are so deeply felt, is the most opportune time to present the sound, reasonable, Christian standards for living. Today, when suffering men and women are eagerly looking for a solution to the problems of society and for a philosophy that brings peace to the soul in a world where comfort is insecure, should certainly be the time when Catholics, confident in their faith, would make bold to speak. But

it is the Communist, and not the Christian, who is at hand at every strike, in any open meeting, in the groups of the weary who wait at relief stations and employment offices, and at every strategic spot with his futile and unsatisfying doctrine. While Christian charity is furnishing the food and clothing for thousands of unfortunates, it is Communist theory that is fed to their minds; while Christian spirited men and women are attempting to appease the misery of the poverty-stricken, the Communist propagandists are painting vain pictures of a social system where misery would not be present.

Those who oppose Communism often excuse their failure to show their colors by saying that it is better to let the movement run its course unmolested and ignored. They point to the collapse of the Ku-Klux Klan as evidence that such organizations need not be fought but retreat by their own lack of direction. This argument, however, is not a valid one, for the Ku-Klux Klan and similar societies appealed only to ignorance, prejudice, and intolerance while the Godless Communism protests against economic evils that actually do exist and appeals not to a man's prejudices but to his hope for a more satisfactory social system. Much as we dislike and distrust Communism, we should recognize it as a positive philosophy of life with a definite goal. To dismiss it as a movement of no consequence is to fail to see a real antagonist who may or may not prove to be a strong enemy.

To attempt to suppress Communist propaganda would doubtlessly prove an unwise move. The persistent belief in free speech is a sentimental delusion of the American people to which it is easy to make an appeal. If the Communist were not allowed to preach his doctrine he would become a martyr even in the opinions of those who opposed his theories. If the tenets of Communism were enhanced by a whispered secrecy, they would take on a glamour and fascination which would supersede reason in the minds of many. The germs of this false belief would develop and spread more quickly in the darkness of suppression than in the open light of reason. The influence of Communism can be curtailed most effectively, not by suppression, but by the substitution of a stronger force—Christianity.

If the apathetic citizen were to bestir himself and look for a means to prevent the growth of Communism, he could find a wise suggestion in these words of Orestes A. Brownson: "Rightly to comprehend a system is not simply to detect its errors. We understand not even an erroneous system till we understand its truth; and its real refutation lies not so much in detecting and exposing its fallacies as in detecting, distinguishing, and accepting the truth which it misapprehends, misinterprets, and misapplies. . . . If we wish to produce a favorable effect on them and to refute their system for their sake, we must begin, not by denouncing their error,

but by showing them that we recognize and accept their truth."

To defeat the Communist, we must begin by recognizing that there is widespread injustice, mad greed, inexcusable incongruities, and unscrupulous selfishness in our present system. We must admit that there is reason to disapprove of a society that does not question the expenditure of hundreds of dollars for decorations at a debutante ball in a city where thousands of children are hungry. We must acknowledge that there is a lack of balance in a country that houses its sweat-shop workers in tenement houses and its movie stars in Hollywood mansions. We must agree that the jobless man with a family to provide for has a right to just anger when he reads of the seven-year-old New York girl whose guardian listed the minimum cost of maintaining her for one year at forty-five thousand, six hundred dollars. We must realize that there is a real and terrible problem at hand in a nation where over two hundred thousand boys under twenty-one—half a million of tomorrow's voters—are despondently wandering from town to town, unable to find a niche in our social structure. In other words, we must acknowledge the faults of our contemporary social system and we must know that either widespread reform or devastating revolt is inevitable.

If every Catholic were possessed of a determination to transmit the essentials of his Church's doctrines, a readiness to apply Christian principles to every problem that arises, and a desire to interpret every phase of life in terms of the Catholic code, a campaign for reform would be well begun. But the ordinary American layman contents himself with much less than this. He wishes to preserve and strengthen his personal sanctity, but he usually lacks the missionary spirit. He is hesitant about quoting the teaching of Christ to help determine a policy of state or of business. Because we have been subjected to bitter prejudice, Catholic laymen, for the most part, seem timid about offering the truths of their faith.

Consider the young Communist again: he is always aggressive. He is not afraid of criticism, disagreement, or disapproval, and he offers his ideas freely even when he knows they are not being sought. He is thoroughly interested in vital, significant, and real matters. Apparently he is deeply concerned with what he considers the welfare of society, and, on the surface (however he might ultimately prove himself to be, were he in power), he is unselfish and desirous of bettering the worldly conditions of mankind at large. He is serious, and he tries to relate everything about him to his central theme of living—the Communist state. For these qualities of character—courage, independence, and seriousness—the young Communist must be admired in spite of our disagreement with his theories and our disapproval of his standards.

Just as the opponent of Communism must accept as his strongest weapon and turn to his own uses what there is true in Communism, so, too, he must make use of those tactics which the Communists have found effective. In other words, because the Communist is everywhere preaching his atheistic doctrine, the Christian can best defeat him by a more vigorous and widespread teaching of the truths of the Church.

But the substantial Catholic citizen continues to ignore the Communist and the revolutionary forces that threaten him and his Church. He drifts along on the assurance that because his is the true Church he need not be concerned about protecting it. He thinks that by professing Christianity himself he is doing enough. He might well look at Russia, at Spain, or at Mexico for warning, but he says, with too much assurance, that "America is different."

Repeatedly the warning is sounded by His Holiness, Pope Pius XI, that Christian civilization is in danger throughout the world. The American layman fails to heed the warning. He continues to think of atheism as the mild hobby of a few cranks and Communism as an extravagant theory of an insignificant group of radicals.

It is reasonable to think that men become sincere Communists only because to them this philosophical and political system seems to be more true and good than other systems. No person of intelligence and honesty would join the Communistic movement if he thought that it was based on a false and bad theory. It is likewise reasonable to think that if an alternative with more truth and more goodness were suggested as frequently and as forcibly as is Communism, it would be accepted. That is, sincere men will grasp Communism because they have not been taught, in the words of Pope Pius XI, "... a radical cure and remedy, namely, sound and solid principles, charity and justice and fundamental indestructible truths and teachings of the value of souls and the dignity of the human individual, man's origin and destiny and his essential relations with God, his creator and redeemer and lord and judge, and with his fellow men in the rest of creation."

If Communism grows, the fault lies not with those who, having a little truth, think it is all, but with those who recognize the real truth of Christ but in a short-sighted complacency fail to transmit it to all who will listen.



Communism

Mobilizes the Screen

By G. M. GODDEN

From "The Sign" (May, 1935)

A WORLD-WIDE Society, well organized and lavishly financed, that devoted all its energies to the skilful dissemination of disease germs would be instantly suppressed. But organizations, the sole object of which is to introduce a deadly disease into the "body politic," as the State was once called, are permitted to function in America and in England with incredible freedom. Subversive ideas and emotions are presented to thousands of men and women, boys and girls, with an appeal that must be almost, if not quite, irresistible to those who are enduring wage-cuts, and unemployment. The promoters of these ideas and emotions have found an unrivalled international instrument in the screen.

The Soviet Government, always intent on the effort to create world-revolution, has not been slow to grasp the unique propaganda value of the Cinema. Soviet propagandists declared that "Film propaganda clarifies all our activities; it opens for us a road by which we can penetrate the masses; it increases our influence upon the people; it reinforces that influence with a minimum of effort; it popularizes our 'mots d'ordre.'" (*La Film au Service de la Revolution.*)

As early as 1927 the Soviet Government was building a Hollywood outside Moscow, for the purpose of making films for export; in other words for spreading germs of Communism throughout the world. In the following year a Congress of Soviet Cinema Departments was held, at which it was resolved that "the chief object of the industry must be to serve the purpose of agitation," and that it must therefore "work in close association with the organizations of the Communist Party." Eighteen months later, a flood of Soviet films invaded England, through the medium of small "Workers' Film Societies" operating all over the country. Pudovkin's masterpiece of the propaganda of revolution—*Mother*, was shown, in spite of the ban of the British censor; and also Pudovkin's *Storm Over Asia*, attacking British troops. A *Workers News Bulletin* recorded the Communist leadership of Unemployed demonstrations; *CBD* was shown, being described as an "enthraling romance, based upon the mutiny of troops who refuse to carry out the orders of their officers"; the superb *General Line* by Eisenstein, with its mockery of prayer, was given; and also that masterpiece of film art, *The End of St. Petersburg*, an epic of the growth of the revolutionary mind, for which it is

justly claimed that "the psychological effect upon the spectator is overwhelming." Recently, the 16mm reel has made available, for small halls and even for private houses, both the great Soviet propaganda films, and also communist films of lesser distinction but equally effective in agitational value, such as *Soviet Russia Past and Present*, and Lebediev's *Son of a Soldier*. These small 16mm screens can be put up at a moment's notice; and the film can be successfully shown, and its revolutionary message put across, in premises where police detection is almost impossible.

In America the "New Theatre and Film and Photo League" is busy presenting films which aim at producing the revolutionary mind of Atheist Communism. *America Today* shows strike scenes; the Soviet Satirical Film entitled *Two Thieves*, preceded by a short talk on religion introducing the picture, has been given at the Workers' School, Philadelphia; an All Eisenstein Programme is announced for the New School for Social Research, N. Y.; *Three Songs About Lenin* by Vertov, given in N. Y., is described as "Leninism in emotional, visual, and oral terms," and as "a film that carries to the world the magnificent progress of seventeen years of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union . . . as lyrical as it is dynamic, simple as it is profound, and universal in its appeal." *Deserter*, Pudovkin's first sound film to reach America, deals with a strike of marine workers; *Thunderstorm*, arrived recently from the U.S.S.R., symbolizes "the complete isolation that all individuals of sensitiveness experienced in pre-revolutionary Russia." These are just indications of the use of the film in America in the cause of atheist Communist propaganda.

"The Revolutionary film movement marches onwards!" is the opening phrase of the report of the first National Film Conference convened by the Film and Photo Leagues of America. The Conference was held in October last, in Chicago; and delegates from Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, Boston and New York were "pledged to devote themselves tirelessly to building and strengthening the Workers' Film Movement in America." Nearly forty reels of documented film, produced during the past year, were brought for exhibition and discussion to the Conference; reels which gave "vivid evidence of the reality of the revolutionary Film movement in America." It was pointed out, at the Conference,

that the American "Film and Photo Leagues, rooted in the intellectual and social basis of the Soviet film, begin with the simple news-reel document, photographing events as they appear to the lens, true to the nature of the revolutionary medium they exploit in a revolutionary way."

The mandate of the Conference was that the major task before the Film and Photo Leagues of America, in this coming period, must be the *continuous and widespread production of news-reels and documents of the class-struggle in action. . . . The tremendous growth of the working-class movement, coupled with the increase of strikes and class-warfare makes it imperative for the Film and Photo Leagues to concentrate its best film and photo forces on the field of battle.*"

Here, at last, we have the makers of civil war coming out into the open. Here is avowed propaganda for "class-warfare"; propaganda conveyed in every so-called Workers' Film, whether the crude efforts of a local news-reel, or the superb achievements of an Eisenstein or a Pudovkin, achievements which raise the sectional hatreds and cruelties of class-war to imaginary epic heights the distortions of which in no way diminish their effect on semi-educated audiences.

America is to be carefully organized, on the film front, for the preparatory manoeuvres of a campaign of civil war. Every local Film and Photo League—mark the absence of any warning note of Communism in that innocuous title—is to have a "shock production troupe of the most talented cameramen in the organization whose main function will be the production of news-reels, and documents." And each group is to establish a training school "to develop potential members of the news-reel troupe." The National Committee of the John Reed Club, and the American League of Workers' Theatres were asked to assist; and the National League was authorized to go ahead and make plans for the production of "four 35mm documents on coal, steel, the farm question, the South." The "South" doubtless means the utilizing of racial hatreds for the purposes of the Class-War. It was decided that 16mm should be the basic stock, used locally by the Leagues for the coming period. The 35mm was adopted for the National Scale, to be reduced to 16mm "for mass distribution."

The recent position in Los Angeles, where although over twenty reels of revolutionary film were produced, the exhibition of these reels was chiefly limited to California, is to be avoided, in the future, by the setting up of an American National Film Exchange "to ensure wide national circulation of all films produced by the various Leagues." The central apparatus in New York is to function as a clearing-house; and to hold, whenever possible, negatives from which prints can be quickly struck for distribution. This is, of course, to facilitate

rapid concentration of agitational material in any area where the possibilities of fomenting strike action, developing into street fighting, seem favorable.

The work of a Headquarters Staff must necessarily include plans for defense as well as for attack. The organizers of this National Conference were far too astute to overlook the importance of checking patriotic films, which are to be labelled for this purpose as "anti-working-class." For this work it was agreed to "draw more liberal pacifist, anti-war, anti-Fascist organizations into the fight . . . and not as in the past carelessly dissipate time and energy in conducting huge mass campaigns . . . single-handedly." The attacks to be made on patriotic films were made subject to stringent regulations:—they must be "conducted only in conjunction with other organizations, never alone." Here we have, of course, the "United Front" tactics, dealt with in last month's issue of *The Sign*. It is interesting to note that the Los Angeles Film and Photo League was urged "to wedge its way more sharply into the film industry"; and to make lasting contacts within the Motion Picture Workers' Industrial Union of Hollywood.

A National Executive Committee, with a resident National Bureau, a National Secretary and the Executive Secretary of the various Leagues "supplemented by endorsers and advisers," was established. Finally, it was resolved to publish a monthly National Film Bulletin of organization and agitation, under the direction of the National Educational Chairman; and resolutions were passed "affiliating the National and Photo League to the American Section of the Workers' International Relief, the local Film and Photo League affiliating to the local W.I.R."

It is of urgent interest to all Americans, and to the Catholics of America in particular, to know exactly what this innocent sounding order for affiliation means. It means direction from, and subordination to, the militantly atheist Communist International in Moscow. For the so-called "Workers' International Relief," usually known as the W.I.R., is the *Mezhrapom*, the Soviet organization which distributes, throughout the world, Communist propaganda including film propaganda, together with relief for workers on strike, or engaged in insurrection. The W.I.R., with its world-wide Sections, is completely under the orders of Moscow. The American Section has a National Office in New York. As far back as 1921-22, at the time of the great Russian famine, the W.I.R. was exploiting the sufferings of the famine victims as a means of introducing Communist propaganda into America.

The International Secretary of the W.I.R. the well-known leader, Willie Münzenberg, claims, in his official report to the Communist International, that "The campaign for the famine relief enabled us for

the first time to conduct Communist propaganda among the Trade Union Workers of North America, and to unite these workers under the control of the Communist Party." Just so, the affiliation of the American Workers' Film and Photo League to the W.I.R. places all the American Film Leagues under the control of the Communist Party, and its central power-house the Communist International in Moscow. It is this control and direction, subsidized by the funds which Soviet Russia can always afford for efforts to create World Revolution, which gives their importance to the network of Communist film societies now operating in America. And, it cannot be too often repeated, the word Communism includes always and everywhere militant atheism.

The Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, Mathew Woll warned American citizens of the extent of Communist propaganda through the screen, in his evidence before the Congressional Committee of 1930. This evidence described Communist films, shown in New York in which a missionary was depicted as a drunkard, and in which the destruction of churches in Soviet Russia was shown as an example to be followed, and the cross was made the subject of mockery. (Congressional Committee Hearings, Part III, Vol. 2.) The derisive attack on religion is a constant feature of the great Soviet films, which are now shown in all countries, with captions in the various languages, to large audiences, if the 35mm reel is used, and to small gatherings of workers in little halls or even in rooms, with the 16mm screen. It is an attack which is none the less deadly because it is derisive. In the great film of Eisenstein, *The General Line*, the theme of which has nothing to do, apparently, with religion, there is a prolonged ridicule of prayer, and repeated mockery of the crucifix, of an icon of Our Lady, and of the priest. This picture is, of course, a masterpiece of propaganda for class-war and fratricidal hate; and for the creation of the state of mind which welcomes a Communist revolution. It is also a masterpiece of militant atheism.

In that other great film by Eisenstein, *Battleship Potemkin*, a superb film of successful naval mutiny, the theme again has no necessary connection with religion. In this film of marvellous power, rhythm, and beauty, some of the captions are parodies of prayer, not omitting the *Pater noster*; and there is a vicious parody of a priest, holding up a crucifix, which is afterwards shown, in a separate shot, lying upon the deck. The caption to this shot of the overthrown crucifix is "Fear the Lord."

It has been shown in the smallest and cheapest cinemas of the Argentine seaports where it "must have been seen by every worker of every nationality . . . by every sailor ashore." A no less intensive attack on religion is delivered in Lebediev's film *Son of a Soldier*, innocently advertised as "a dramatic and humorous picture of child life in 1905." Right through this "humorous picture of child life" is derision of God, and of religion. The opening shots deride religious education, guying a priest-schoolmaster, captions blaspheming God are used. Was it only coincidence that these two films, both deriding the Christian faith, were chosen for a Film Show organized by the Communist organization, well-known in America, International Labor defense, for an exhibition in London on Christmas Day?

Eisenstein has described the film propaganda of the Soviet Government as a "first task" of the Soviet dictatorship. This is no mere figure of speech. Eisenstein claims that the Communist films have "forced the spectator to think in a certain direction," and that they have "developed a powerful weapon for the propagation of ideas"; in other words for the propagation of atheist Communism, of revolutionary civil war, of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in a Godless State. These are precisely the first tasks of Soviet propaganda in all countries. Moving pictures are an unrivalled instrument for carrying out this task. Are the Catholics of America going to permit the continued use of the screen for Communist ends?



Communism Mobilizes the "United Front"

By G. M. GODDEN

In "The Sign," April, 1935

"The principal task of the Communist Party is to develop the tactics of the united front."—Molotov, meeting of the Executive of the "Communist International."

THE principal danger, confronting democratic States, in 1935, is the world-wide campaign of all Communist organizers, in all countries, for achieving a "United Front." What is this great tactical advance of the "United Front"? It is not, as might appear at first sight, a closing up of the Communist ranks. Rather is it an opening of those ranks to admit every kind of militant worker, every class of the community, to close co-operation with Communists. But, once these Socialist, Christian Socialist, and, alas, in some cases Catholic militants have been induced to enter into Communist co-operation, then the front lines of the Communist forces close up, and the would-be co-operators find themselves safely enclosed behind Communist leadership.

It is a masterly tactic; but, to be widely successful, it needs world-wide plausible slogans. The events in Germany have provided one such slogan; and the carefully fomented fears of another world-war have provided a second. Accordingly in all countries, in the last twelve months, so-called "Anti-Fascist and Anti-War" Movements, Conferences, Committees have sprung up; and, by their specious propaganda, have drawn together a formidable array of "United" representatives of the most diverse parties. Pacifists have found themselves standing on the same platform with leaders of that Communist Party which slaughtered more than 1,766,118 Russians during the first four years of the creation of the Communist Dictatorship, camouflaged as the "Union of Socialist and Soviet Republics." Catholics have been induced to stand on the same platform with members of that Communist Party which has shot, tortured and starved to death many more Christians than perished during the persecutions of Nero and Diocletian. Members of the Constitutional Parties in England have appeared at public meetings in support of that Communist Party which has declared war to the death on all democratic States—for did not Lenin announce that "the full victory of Communism will bring about the total disappearance of the State, including its democratic form."

American men and women who do not wish to witness the ultimate "total disappearance" of Amer-

ican democracy, and of American freedom, to be replaced by a militantly atheist Proletarian Dictatorship, will do well to expose and oppose the "United Front" manoeuvres, during 1935. A little more than three months ago Moscow issued the alluring call to "every worker who is prepared to fight against Fascism and War, unhesitatingly to enter, jointly with the Communists, the struggle for the proletarian United Front"; and directed this call especially to the capture of Social-democrats—"the Communists will continue to spare no effort for a close United Front, based on agreement between Communists and Social-democratic party leaderships. All their energy will be exerted to force a United Front, from below, of all organizations of Communists and Social-democrats." (*International Press Correspondence*. Moscow, English Edition, 1934. No. 59.)

Last October, the Communist Party of America was actively engaged in a campaign for a United Front with the American Socialist Party; encouraged doubtless by the resounding success achieved in France, a few months previously, when, by an enormous majority, the French Socialist Party decided to form a United Front, against Fascism and War, with the Communist Party of France. This French decision has been hailed by a former member of the Colonial Department of the Communist International, operating from Moscow, as "an event which may prove a turning point in the working class movement of the world." (*Communist Review*. August, 1934.) Already, the National Executive of the American Socialist Party had written to the Amsterdam (Socialist) International asking it "to renew its attempt to find an honorable basis for a reasonable agreement" with the Communist International. This request discounts the value of the refusal on the part of the American Socialist Executive to effect an immediate union with the Communist "Front." And the American Socialists did much towards selling the pass by admitting the advantage of joint action on specific questions, "mainly in the field of civil liberties." This of course was playing directly into the hands of the American Communist leaders. No wonder that this admission, together with successes among young

American workers and students under the slogan of the "United Front against War and Fascism," encouraged the Communist opinion that there existed, in America, "a good foundation for united action in the future, on a national scale." (*International Press Correspondence*. "The United Front in the U. S. A." No. 52.)

It is quite clear, from the carefully worded pronouncement of the "Communist International" that the immediate drive is for unity on specific issues only, the wider "organic unity" of the Communist and Socialist Parties being diplomatically deferred. The inference is, of course, that the effect of worldwide union on specific fronts, such as the "Anti-Fascist Front" and the "Anti-War Front," will create a mass movement of sufficient strength to liquidate ultimately the organizations of the Socialist moderates. The classical historical example is the liquidation of the moderate Kerensky regime in Russia by the mass movement, created and directed by the skilled propagandist work of Lenin. And it is relevant to the conditions, today, in America and in Europe, to remember that Lenin carried on ceaseless preparatory work for twenty years, and achieved success in ten days.

The statement issued by the American Communist Party, last autumn, asserted that "Socialist workers can agree with Communist workers on broad solidarity movements in support of the textile strikers, of the Anti-War Congress, of the Left Wing Unemployment Insurance Bill (which Thomas individually endorsed), and of a unified unemployed organization"; and pointed out that "as the workers of both Parties unite in struggle for immediate demands, they will unite on larger questions." Unite—and be liquidated. For, the only way out, for the American workers, we are told, is by "a fighting united front of the most advanced parties of the working class"; in other words the "most advanced" of all Parties, the Communist Party, will take complete control; and Communist control always spells the ruthless destruction of "reformist" and Socialist bodies by whose help that control has been achieved.

The organ of the "Communist International" claims that Communist tactics in the National Student League of America, together with eighteen months of "United Front" propaganda, resulted in the capture of the American Youth Congress, which was held last August, and which claimed to represent 1,700,000 American Youth, including church, and boy scout, bodies. This success was followed up by a campaign for local actions, to culminate in January, 1935, in a National Youth Congress in Washington. Successful "local actions" have been carried out. A State Conference at Illinois, sponsored by the Socialist Party, included delegates representing the Communist Party, and Independent Labor Defense, the M.O.P.R. of Moscow. In New

Orleans, in Philadelphia, in New York, and in Boston, joint action between Socialists and Communists has taken place. The official Communist report for America, published last October, concludes "Workers everywhere are sweeping away their reactionary leaders, and uniting in actions for their immediate needs."

The position in Europe should be studied by Americans, and especially by American Catholics. We are told that the rising in the Asturias, last October, was a "United Front" insurrection; and a Spanish Comrade announced last month, at a large Meeting held in London: "it is on the barricades that the United Front really comes into being." In other words the United Front tactic is essentially a tactic of civil war; and civil war, moreover, of the kind witnessed only three months ago in Spain, when Catholic churches were destroyed, and Catholic priests were murdered. The ten days of "Workers' complete control," in Northern Spain, in October, 1934, was the climax of a movement which achieved the setting on fire of 55 Spanish convents and churches in 1931, of 51 in 1932, and of 50 in 1933. The chapel of San José, at Seville, a "National Monument," was burned. The Jesuit library at Madrid, with many invaluable *incunabula*, was destroyed. The total loss in pictures, books, manuscripts, including pictures by Murillo and Velasquez, has been computed at over \$60,000,000. And it is not only churches and shrines that have been attacked in Spain. The vivid words of a Spanish resident tell us that: "travellers to Galicia will remember the granite crosses and Calvaries . . . standing at cross-roads, marking the approaches to hostleries for the pilgrims marching to the shrine of St. James at Compostella, or standing, solemn sentries, on the hill-tops. There is no moor however wild among whose heather they were not found; no headland too high or rugged to be reached by the men who erected them as symbols of a Faith that has given its name to the Christian era. Now, many of them are a heap of ruins."

Further, not content with material destruction, the Spanish revolutionaries of the United Front have attacked the little children of Spain. This is an *Ateneo Libertario* which Spanish children have been taught:

"Sling the bomb, spitting fire, place well the mine,
grasp the revolver firmly. . . .
Pass on the word for revolution. . . .
Help for anarchists. . . .
With petrol and dynamite destroy the Government."

An ounce of fact is worth a wilderness of Marxian theory. Churches destroyed, priests murdered, the Cross defamed, children degraded, these are the results, as seen in Spain, of the United Front in action. They are identical with the results of Communist action in Soviet Russia. But the alliance between Spain, under the United Front, and Soviet Russia

does not stop here. It is an alliance of causes as well as of identity in results. The founder and leader of the Communist Party of Spain is one Andrés Nin. And Señor Andrés Nin was a close associate of Trotsky when Trotsky was in power in Moscow. Last March we were told that Señor Nin had preached the United Front in Spain "in season and out of season." The results of his labors flared out, in Northern Spain, in October. Further, the Soviet organization of the Communist International, M.O.P.R., started, at the close of last year, a special campaign to send financial help to the Spanish revolutionaries. And, two months previously, the central Communist authority for the whole world, the Executive Committee of the Communist International, together with the body which controls the action of Communist youth in all countries, the Young Communist International, decided to continue rendering the Spanish comrades "concrete assistance." Four agents were appointed under the chairmanship of the well-known French Communist leader Marcel Cachin "to give the decisions practical effect."

These agents were instructed to rally Socialists and Communists, inside and outside Spain, for united action; and the Executive of the Communist International authorized the temporary sinking of differences between Communists and the hated moderate Socialists or "reformists," "if the latter are willing actively to help keep the revolutionary flame burning in Spain." If opportunity should occur in America, owing to industrial strife on a sufficiently extensive scale, there will be no lack of agents of the Third International and of the Communist Youth, operating outside America, with the object of fomenting such industrial strikes into civil war; and the first step of these agents will be the building up, or the strengthening, if the structure already exists, of the American United Front.

Efforts for such a building up are already in preparation in England. Last month a United Front

Meeting was convened in London, at which delegates from over thirty organizations were present, organizations ranging from the "Communist Party of Great Britain" to the National Union of Journalists, and the National Union of Women Teachers. This United Front Conference was officially advertised as a Conference on Fascism and War. A campaign of similar "All-In" Conferences was suggested for the whole of England; and the representative speaker for the Communist Party promised whole-hearted support for Labor candidates at the next General Election in England, with more than a hint of reciprocal aid for Communist candidates: "Our Party will do all in its power to carry unity into the electoral struggle."

Here, in the centre of London, we have the carrying out, to the letter, of the policy laid down in Moscow only three months ago, of inducing the Social-Democrats, in England the Labor Party, to enter into joint action with the Communists on the specific issue of Fascism and War. The recent London Conference, moreover, emphasized exactly the tactics ordered by Moscow last November, namely to build up the United Front from below, that is by propaganda in localities, among the "rank and file," rather than by huge spectacular demonstrations. The great achievement of the French Communists last July, in drawing the French Socialist Party into a pact of joint action against Fascism and War, was cited in confirmation of the correctness of this tactic. This resounding United Front success was obtained by preparatory work in localities in the great French cities; in other words by propaganda from below, among the rank and file. Similar propaganda will be assiduously promoted in America during 1935. Let American Democracy, and above all the Catholics of America, be on guard. Smug security is but a poor weapon against the fanaticism of those who are scattering throughout the world the seeds of a revolution more terrible than any yet known to history.

Life in Concentration Camps in U.S.S.R.

By PROFESSOR VLADIMIR CHERNAVIN
(Reprinted, by permission from the "Slavonic Review,"
January, 1934)

Vladimir Chernavin was Professor of Ichthyology in the Agronomic Institute of Leningrad, 1922-23, and in charge of the biological and technological laboratories of the Northern Fisheries Trust at Murmansk, 1926-30, when he was arrested and sent to prison, and later to the Concentration Camp of Solovetsk. He escaped in August, 1932, with his wife and son. Madame Chernavin has written a moving account of this, entitled "Escape from the Soviets," published by Dutton. Professor Chernavin has published a full and detailed account of his captivity in "I Speak for the Silent" (Hale, Cushman, & Flint. New York.)

THE CONTROL OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS BY THE O. G. P. U.

MY DESCRIPTION of life in a concentration camp refers to the time from May, 1931, to August, 1932. I was myself only in the camp of Solovetsk, but as they move prisoners from one camp to another, I also came into contact with prisoners from other camps. According to their reports, conditions of life in all the camps are generally alike.

The number of concentration camps is a secret of the OGPU. Their number is constantly changing; some are closed and others spring up again. I happened to meet prisoners from the following camps: White Sea and Baltic, Svirsk, Kotlas, Pechora, Vishera, Kungur, Kuznetsk, Narym, Mouth of Obi, Turkestan, Far-East and Syzran. I know of thirteen camps, but there are undoubtedly more.

Conditions of life in concentration camps are subject to sharp alterations depending on changes in the policy of OGPU and the Government, so that one must always bear in mind the time to which information on them refers. One may say the same thing of the general conditions of life in USSR: one who has seen men starving and tattered in the period of militant communism, 1919-21, cannot imagine these same persons often well fed and smartly dressed in the period of the N.E.P.,* 1923-26, who were again broken, threadbare and hungry in those years when the Five Year Plan was in its prime, 1930-32.

Imprisonment in a concentration camp is the severest punishment which can be applied under Soviet laws for the gravest offences. The only thing known to the law that is worse is the death penalty, which is so widely used in USSR. The term of imprisonment in such a camp is by law not less than three years and cannot be more than ten. In reality

it is often indefinitely increased. Where it is substituted for the death penalty, ten years is the term fixed. The only persons for whom it is less than three years are minors, who are sent for two years.

Concentration camps take the place of what was in Imperial Russia called *katorga* or convict labour. One must not think that from the change in title the conditions of the prisons are any easier. The Soviet Government does not in general like rough names. For instance, the death penalty is now called "the highest measure of social defence," a prison is called "a house of confinement," punishment cells in the prisons and camps are called "separate rooms" and so on. Of course all of this does not change the reality.

One characteristic of the concentration camps is that they are under the jurisdiction of OGPU—the State Political Administration, an institution which is completely independent and uncontrolled. In consequence, the concentration camp, like other undertakings of OGPU, is not responsible to the Commissariat of Justice, the Commissariat of Home Affairs, or even the Workers and Peasants Inspection; that is, the State Control. The prisoners in the camps are usually sent there without trial and simply by decisions of OGPU.

Estimated Number of Prisoners

What is the number of prisoners in such camps in USSR, cannot easily be determined, as the government is very careful to conceal this. It is all the harder to judge because the number of prisoners in individual camps is subject to sharp alterations, as they are sometimes thrown across by tens of thousands from one camp to another, according to the work to be done and alterations in the arrangement of the camps. Some idea of the number can be drawn from the following figures: in the White Sea-Baltic camp, during the construction of the canal

* *i.e.* Lenin's New Economic Policy, which limited exactions of produce from the peasants, and allowed private trade and small cottage industries to begin again, under licence. It was introduced in 1921.

between these two seas, there were in 1932 at work no less than 250,000 prisoners. In August of 1933 out of this number, by a decree of the government published in *Izvestia*, 70,000 were partially amnestied, as having shown the greatest zeal in their work. One asks what might be the number of the remainder. In the camp of Solovetsk in the summer of 1931 there were fourteen sections and in each section there were usually 20,000 prisoners, which means that at that time in the Solovetsk camp there were about 280,000. If one assumes that on an average in each camp there were 100,000, the total for USSR will be 1,300,000, which is undoubtedly much less than the actual figure. According to the latest reports, which I have from a prisoner who only just escaped from a camp in 1932, two new camps have been created, the Baikal-Amur with 450,000 prisoners and the Dmitrov near Moscow with 250,000. It must be borne in mind that I am speaking only of the prisoners in camps; the number of administrative exiles in remote parts is undoubtedly many times greater.

Prisoners Usually Sentenced Without Trial

The great mass of prisoners are exiled under Article 58 of the Criminal Code, namely, for what is called, "Counter-Revolution," a conception which is interpreted extremely widely in USSR. The enormous majority of those deported under this article do not even know what they are accused of; many do not even know either their sentence or the term of their exile. The greater number of these prisoners are peasants deported in connection with the forcible collectivisation of the country districts. Besides these, there are many educated persons—scholars, specialists, or engineers. This category are mostly deported in connection with failures of the Five Year Plan. Under this head also fall deported workmen, whose number has more recently increased noticeably. Many in the camps are former officers and priests; the latter are deported only because this is the most convenient way of exterminating them.

There is a special group of former traders and in general persons who are suspected by OGPU of possessing real non-soviet money or valuables. From these persons OGPU demanded only one thing—the payment of a fixed sum in money or valuables as a voluntary contribution to the Five Year Plan. Those who could not pay the sum appointed, OGPU, after long imprisonment and severe treatment, sent to the concentration camp. They are charged under Article 59, section 12, with "malicious speculation in currency" and they are exiled for no less than five years.

Criminals, that is prisoners who have committed a real crime, are no more than 10 per cent. in the camp; among them are professional robbers, con-

firmed thieves and also embezzlers and swindlers. These are usually exiled by sentence of a court.

All actual criminals are in a privileged position and, as opposed to the "Counter-Revolutionaries," are called the "socially near." They play a very important part in the camp, as we shall see.

The Concentration Camp of Solovetsk

In USSR this camp is called for short "USLON," the first Russian letters of the full term "Administration of Solovetsk Camps of Special Destination," or else only "SLON" (the Russian for elephant), for which reason an elephant is used as the trademark of goods produced there by forced labour. The words "special destination" used in connection with the Solovetsk camp meant simply the destruction of those who were sent there. The officials of the camp made no secret of this with the prisoners and told them so the first day after their arrival, but even without any telling all would have become quickly convinced of this.

In May, 1930, OGPU decided to change the regime in the camps, as their reputation for cruelty had passed over the frontier; at that time the name was also changed, and instead of the words "special destination" was submitted "camps of labour and correction."

I came after the first period; but I have to speak of it, as the second period bore very plain traces of it.

Conditions of Life in Solovetsk to May, 1930

I was brought to the camp on the 2nd May, 1931, that is a year after its reform. Most of the prisoners, however, were persons who had experienced the regime of "special destination," and their simple and terrible narratives confirmed the dreadful picture of the past. Apart from that, the camp officials and especially the warders had not yet had time to change their character. Their remarks and shouts and even the very language that they used, with special words, were a lively evidence of the period of extermination of prisoners. News of that time very rarely reached the press. The most detailed account of it is given in the notes of an OGPU official, Kisilev, who escaped abroad and published them under the title of *The Camps of Death*. According to him the number of prisoners at that time amounted to 660,000. The administration was at first established on the island of Solovetsk and then in the town of Kem. The prisoners were dispersed over the Solovetsk islands, and those of the Gulf of Onega in the White Sea (the Kond Island, the Popov Island, the Little Island and others), and also on the mainland in deserted parts of Karelia in the north, as far as the coast of the Arctic Ocean. These settlements or detachments of the Solovetsk camp were scattered from north to south, roughly from a latitude of 63 degrees to 69 degrees N.

The Main Work of the Camps

In the camp at this period two objects were pursued:—to extract income, specially in foreign currency, and to do away with the prisoners.

The chief work was the preparation of timber for export and the laying of chaussees through Karelia, from the White Sea to the Finnish frontiers. These roads — the Kem-Ukhta and the Loukhi-Kesteng tracks, passing through quite unpopulated districts, have a strategic significance and are directed against Finland. In the neighbourhood of these roads, the trees were cleared away and enormous areas were drained. Apparently places d'armes and aerodromes were being got ready in case of war with Finland.

These works were carried out in quite intolerable conditions. Clothing and footwear were not served out to the prisoners. Their quarters were unimaginably close and dirty and were not heated. Often for those who were working in the forest no quarters were provided, and they camped in huts made of branches. The food was disgusting and quite insufficient. The work was assigned on such a basis that only the strongest and most experienced would be able to complete it, and that only with the greatest exertions and in not less than fourteen to sixteen hours. On such a reckoning every prisoner was given a daily "task;" whoever did not complete it had no right to return to the barracks for the night and got no food. Frozen and hungry, he could not perform his task next day.

A Regime of Extermination

Then punitive measures were taken, as if he were slacking maliciously. In the winter they "put him out in the cold," that is, stripped him naked and put him on the stump of a tree. As in this latitude the winter temperature is seldom higher than 10 degrees C., the stripped man soon loses consciousness and dies: or else his arms and legs are frozen, after which he dies of gangrene. In the summer they "put him to the mosquitoes," that is, they stripped him naked and tied him to a tree. In the northern forests there is such a mass of mosquitoes that they bite to death even beasts covered with as thick a skin as cattle; of course a man could not endure this and died. Besides this, they beat them terribly at their work, and many were put in the punishment cell where they died of cold and starvation. Thus the OGPU quickly got rid of prisoners who could not stand the heavy work. Even the best workers were not free from blows and insults. As a rule, all were beaten even without any reason. They were beaten for the slightest protest, for any grievance; in a word, everyone was beaten who did not satisfy their warders or whose clothes were wanted by them. There was a special way of doing this:—the warder would order the prisoner to bring

him something out of the wood and as soon as he was fifty yards away, would shoot him in the back. Then a document would be drawn up saying that the prisoner was shot "in an attempt to escape." The prisoner could not disobey and refuse to go in to the forest, as then they would kill him for disobedience.

Prisoners often ended their lives with suicide. Self-mutilation was equally widely practised. The prisoner, knowing that the task was beyond his strength and that it was equivalent to torture and death from blows and punishment, resolved to sham an accident and with his axe cut off his fingers or his hand at the wrist. For such people there was a special name, "self-cutters." They were treated with particular cruelty: after a terrible beating, they were compelled to stand in front of the line of prisoners on parade and to hold in the remaining hand the fingers they had cut off and to cry out: "I am a shirker." The language of Solovetsk has a special term for this, *filon*. If the "self-cutter" did not die from the blows or the loss of blood or gangrene, he was sent to an "invalid gang," that is to one of the special posts in the camp where were gathered together the lame, tuberculous, scurried, impotent and aged. All these were sent "to the bend" (*na zagib*) meaning to death, which was bound to follow on such conditions of existence, instead of any officially pronounced sentence of shooting. The chief invalid gang was on a beautiful island on the Gulf of Onega, the Kond Island. In the fifteenth century this island was settled by monks who set up buildings there, cleared the forest and farmed there till OGPU drove them out and made the island a place of torture and death. Thither in autumn they took as many as 5,000 crippled prisoners; and in spring, when the navigation opened, the chief of this gang reported their end to the Head of the camps.

The position of young women was everywhere miserable: OGPU men of all ranks compelled them to live with them. Those that resisted were set to specially heavy work and subjected to terrible humiliation, insults and blows. Those that surrendered went from hand to hand and generally fell sick of venereal diseases, which are wide-spread among the OGPU staff.

Besides this, the destruction of the prisoners was not a little assisted by spotted typhus of which there were continued epidemics, as all the prisoners were covered with fleas. The sick were taken to one of the islands, where they died without any attention.

In spite of this terrible regime it was extremely rare that the prisoners protested, as everyone there well knew that the result would be wholesale slaughter, whatever the form of protest. Thus ended the strike of the Georgians at Solovetsk in 1928 and other similar demonstrations.

Escapes were also rare and in most cases unsuc-

cessful, as the absence of any supplies of food, the bad clothing and the enormous distance to the frontier made them almost impossible. Of course, all who were caught trying to escape, after terrible blows and tortures were shot. For the "Kaery" (Counter-Revolutionaries) this is in full force to the present day.

All the cruelties mentioned above are inflicted on the prisoners by the overseers and warders consisting of criminal prisoners, under the general inspection of the Chekists. Shooting, then and now, is carried out only by the higher officials of Ogpu, among whom are many who like this work. These prisoners, therefore, are faced with this dilemma: either to be flogged or to flog others and at this price buy themselves a better lot. To join the warders gives a man a life with plenty to eat and drink, but to keep one's post one had to show one's zeal and ardour.

There is no doubt that this period of the Solovetsk camp will be described in detail if, by the time when it is possible to speak and write in Russian, someone is left who has passed through these horrors. At present anyone will be afraid to breathe a word about it.

A New Policy

The second period began about May, 1930. By an order of Ogpu from Moscow the policy in the concentration camp was radically changed. A commission was sent out to investigate the camp regime, which, of course, was very well known before. The commission announced that this regime had been established "without orders." About fifty overseers or warders taken from among the criminal prisoners who had made a particular reputation for cruelty were shot and some of the staff received appointments elsewhere.

The question of what led to the change of regime and how permanent the change, was of lively interest to the prisoners. The general reason, it seemed was the enormous influx of prisoners in 1930, as a result of the execution of compulsory collectivisation and failures which had appeared in the Five Year Plan. Instead of tens of thousands there were now sent hundreds of thousands. If tens of thousands could be kept on some island of the White Sea and in the depths of the Karelian forests, this proved impossible for hundreds of thousands. The work of Ogpu in the camps was inevitably bound to become well known, and in consequence care had to be taken to preserve at least some little decency in appearances, especially because undesirable reports had already penetrated abroad in 1929 and 1930. Much harm had been done by accounts which appeared in the foreign press and especially the evidence given on oath by the student Malyshev, who had escaped from the Solovetsk camp. The campaign which broke out against forced labour in the timber trade,

which was the principal work of the camp, deprived Ogpu of its chief advantage, currency.

To counter these "campaigns of the capitalists," the Soviet Counter-Agitation produced a crudely falsified film called "Solovki," and also some clamorous articles in the Soviet newspapers and periodicals; but the interest shown abroad in the camps was too strong and too continuous, and the policy of extermination of prisoners was impossible.

Commercial Basis of the Camps

Apart from this, the policy of extermination was commercially disadvantageous to Ogpu. With the colossal growth in the number of prisoners there were opened wide perspectives of utilising them. With the reform of 1930, the concentration camps, whether at Solovetsk or elsewhere, were turned into parts of a most colossal enterprise or slave labour run by Ogpu. They were ordered externally to take the aspect of corrective institutions. The introduction was prescribed of special newspapers, broadcast, and library organisation.

Under the cover of this motto Ogpu reorganized its "business side" on a colossal scale, drawing vast profits from the camps as commercial enterprises. It will be enough to acquaint oneself with the present structure of the camp to convince oneself of its real objects.

In structure and functions the camp exactly corresponds to the Soviet state commercial enterprises. To start with, it is divided into "sections" aiming at profit by production and trade. The administration of a "section" consists of the following "parts": producing, planning, trading and accountancy. At the head of each "section" is a director with two assistants. All this is an exact copy of any Soviet productive enterprise. The work of production is different in various sections and camps, but their commercial character is identical.

When I was imprisoned in the Solovetsk camp, I was sent to work in the second section, that is, fisheries. It was concerned with the catching, curing and selling of fish. It had a number of industrial establishments scattered over the coast of the White Sea from the village of Kandalaksha in the north to that of Nyukhcha in the south at the top of the Gulf of Onega. Besides that, it had works and establishments on the Murmansk coast of the Arctic Ocean. There were also some subsidiary establishments such as preserve-making, net-making, and ship-building workshops. Other sections of the camp had in their hands, sawing mills, farms, brick-works, and clothes, boots and even toy factories.

In all, the Solovetsk camp contained in 1931 fourteen sections. In 1932 from its enormously increased organisation were separated two independent camps, the White Sea and Baltic and the Svirsk. For the time there remained in the camp only three

sections, and it had to be reorganised as new parties of prisoners reached it.

At the head of each camp there is an "administration" to which all sections are subject. All the camps are governed from Moscow by a "special administration" which is part of Ogpu. In this central administration there are persons who are called "determinators" (determinants) and are entrusted with the inspection over production in each branch of industry in all the camps: fish, timber, road-making, farming, etc. This higher "superstructure" exists to "co-ordinate" the work of all the camps with the general plan of industry in USSR, as the tasks of production of Ogpu have played a very important part in the Five Year Plan.

This enormous parallel industrial organisation of Ogpu conducts its affairs independently of the commissariats and comes out openly on its own market with its goods. On the foreign markets Ogpu acts through intermediaries, thus masking its face. Thus the second section of the Solovetsk camp (the fisheries) exported salmon, salted and frozen, to England, selling it through the organ of Gostorg (State Trading). Timber was exported through "Severoles" (Northern Timber), Carelles (Carelian Timber) and other organisations.

Together with this, the productive functions of the concentration camps have their own characteristic peculiarities, caused by the fact that all the work is involuntary labour of prisoners and that the Government of USSR is compelled to conceal its forced character.

Administrative Organisation—Warders and Detectives

In the first place, there is everywhere a band of "Armed Warders" (shortened to VOKHR). It is organised on the model of military units, does sentry duty, convoys the prisoners and pursues them if they escape. Its members are armed with revolvers and rifles of a military pattern; the sections have detective dogs for the pursuit of prisoners. Special detachments of warders are sometimes placed far away from the camps; they guard the roads by which escape can be made, are on watch at all railway stations near the camps, go through the trains and verify the documents of all the passengers.

The second peculiarity consists of an information and inquiry section, called ISO. This section is, so to speak, an Ogpu inside Ogpu. It is in fact independent of the administration of the camps. Its duties consist in maintaining secret watch on prisoners and free hired workers of Ogpu, in conducting trials within the camps, and in carrying out investigations connected with them and with cases of escape. This section has at its disposition numerous "isolators"—prisons inside the camps. It organised an enormous network of spies and provocators, the so-called "knockers," who are recruited from the

criminal prisoners. This all-enveloping spider's web of detection and provocation keeps the prisoners in constant fear and mistrust of each other.

"Educators"

The third special organisation in the Camps is the "Cultural Education section" called the KVO. This has two tasks. One is to help the ISO in secret detective work. The ISO and the cultural section work hand in hand, often exchanging their agents, and a man who is to-day an educator may to-morrow be turned into a detective. The second task of KVO is decorative and for advertisement. They have to "re-educate" or, as the pompous language of Ogpu calls it, reforge hardened criminals into Soviet-minded citizens, enthusiasts of the Soviet construction, Communism and the Five Year Plan. The sums spent on this are very small. In the concentration camp for tens of thousands of prisoners is published a sheet newspaper which comes out once or twice a week with sickly articles praising the camp authorities, the camp life, and not despising accusations against prisoners, particularly the "Spetses" (specialists). This little paper is circulated compulsorily for a price among the prisoners. Besides this, the "educators" compel the prisoners to write so-called "wall newspapers"—a big sheet of paper on which articles of a similar character are written by hand. This "wall newspaper" comes out in the central posts five or six times a year, in the distant outposts once or twice. The "educators" also compel prisoners to subscribe to loans and to give their last money, earned by inhuman work; drive them to meetings and clubs where one of the "educators" delivers a speech on some subject prescribed in connection with some particular occasion, for instance, a speech on "French Imperialism" or on "The Coming Movement in China," and so on, or finally "The Success of the Five Year Plan."

When prisoners escape, the "educators" take part in the pursuit, and if the man is caught receive ten roubles a head.

Administrative Staff Mainly Criminal Prisoners

The personnel of the whole administration except for the higher posts of command consists of criminal prisoners. Thus it is prisoners who govern, guard against each others' escapes, catch, spy, conduct investigations, send to the "isolators" or to be shot and in general "re-educate" and "reforge" their fellows.

At first sight this seems improbable; but we must remember that the mass of prisoners who enter the camp are not all of one kind. At each *étape*, at once on arrival, they are sorted, and those that have served before in Ogpu and those condemned for really terrible crimes, go to form the staff of ISO and KVO. From peculating officers of the Red Army are formed the higher ranks of the warders, and of

murderers and thieves the lower—the privates of the guards. It is a rule that these are furnished only by prisoners deported for criminal offences.

The Working Force of the Camps

All the rest, the “Kaery” (Counter-Revolutionaries), represent the working force of the camps. Out of their number are taken the most skilled specialists and engineers. They are sent to “sections” to fill corresponding posts; the workmen are also sorted out according to their specialties. The peasants are left with the hardest physical work and are put in the worst conditions.

The unpaid labour of the whole staff of the camp, beginning with the highly skilled engineers and ending with the last casual labourer, the quite unlimited supply of this unpaid labour working force in any speciality, and the complete disregard of all the laws on labour make it possible for Ogpu to possess an enormous advantage in its enterprises. Instead of a 7-8 hours working day, the work in the camp goes on for 16 hours; instead of the five days of the socialist week there is in the camp a ten-day week. This army of millions of workers has no insurance. They do not receive, not only any working clothes but hardly any clothes at all, and these are handed on from one prisoner to another two or three times. No measures whatever are taken for the safety of the workers, although they are engaged in the most dangerous work. The heaviest work is manual; spade, pick, axe, saw, are the only tools used for the enormous works carried out by forced labour. For gratis labour it is not worth while to spend money on machinery.

Huge Profits of the OGPU

As a result, while nearly all Soviet enterprises are working at a loss and in any case are not allowed to have a profit of more than 8 per cent. to 10 per cent., those of the Ogpu—the concentration camps—give a 100 per cent. profit on the official plans, but, as a matter of fact, even 200 per cent. to 300 per cent. This enormous profit is conditioned, apart from all that has been said, by the speculative character of the operations of Ogpu. For instance, there is an acute shortage in USSR of all necessities and especially of food, which can be sold on the markets at any price, but the ordinary Soviet enterprises are strictly limited in this respect by the fixed prices controlled by the government. Ogpu, using its independent position, trades without regard for the fixed prices and openly engages in speculation, buying goods from other organisations at fixed prices and then at once selling them at free prices. Thus, for instance, the Second Section of the Solovetsk camp bought fresh frozen herrings from the kolk-

hoz* fishermen at 10 kopeks† a kilogram and at once sold them off to another organisation of the camp, “Dynamo,” at 1 rouble a kilogram; the seller, moreover, brought the fish on his own horse and the buyer came to the office of the Rybprom (fish industry) on his, so that Ogpu had no expense of transport; the whole point was that the kolkhozy were forbidden to sell their fish to any one whatever except Rybprom. The purchaser, “Dynamo,” did not keep the fish but sent it off just two streets away and sold it to a State hotel and restaurant in the town of Kem for 3 roubles a kilogram, and there it was supplied to customers at 1 rouble a portion. As there are about fifty or sixty portions in a kilogram of White Sea herring, the price of the fish, beginning at 10 kopeks and passing through the trade channels of Ogpu, increased in a few hours to 500-600 times as much.

All Soviet enterprises suffer cruelly from the enormous proportion of “scrap” in their output. The enterprises of Ogpu are insured against this as they have the best specialists at their disposal, and in case the goods are spoiled they are at once relegated to the stores of Ogpu, where hungry prisoners who cannot buy anywhere else pay in full without a murmur for bad herring or spoilt preserves.

Extensive Bribery

The last, but by no means unimportant peculiarity of the commercial enterprises of Ogpu, is the extremely high development of bribery. Of course it is difficult for the prisoners to judge of the extent to which big bribes are given, but without small bribes given openly and without any compunction not a single bargain can be made nor a single report or plan submitted nor a single visit of the authorities take place. Bribes are taken, beginning with the head authorities in Moscow, and ending with the last member of the guard. Money in USSR has only a trifling and quite conditional significance; no one can be won by it. So bribes are given only in kind; the quality and quantity correspond to the rank of the person concerned. The Second Section, the fishing industry, of course gives bribes in fish. To the head authorities in Moscow was sent as a present the best salmon, a special sort of the famous Solovetsk herring, etc. Presents of the same kind were sent to the head of the Solovetsk camps. The officials of lesser rank were given a less superior kind of salmon, a box or two of smoked herring, and the lowest received two or three tins of preserves. The Agricultural Section sent to Moscow, ham, butter, and the better kinds of vegetables. Those on the spot were given cream. To the ladies of important high officials, flowers were sent. The boot factories made excellent boots for the authorities; the tailoring shops made clothing. Sometimes all this was given as a present, sometimes it was sent as “goods,” but at a ridiculously trifling price.

* *i.e.*, Fishermen working collectively. † 100 kopecks=1 rouble.

Thus at the present time the "labour and education" camps of Ogpu are an enormous commercial enterprise distinguished from the ordinary Soviet ones above all by having unpaid labour to an unlimited extent. From the administrative point of view the enterprises of Ogpu are demoralised by the complete absence of control. This leads to a development of what is called in the camps "blat," in Soviet jargon "comradeship," that is, favouritism, which is the source of bribery. From the point of view of everyday life, one source of corruption in the camps is that all the chief posts of direction are held by persons under punishment, or simply by criminals for whom work in the camps is a chastisement for grave crimes such as thefts from the treasury, scandalous misuse of powers, exceptional arbitrariness and so on.

There is no doubt that these persons are but little suited for the task of creating "labour and correction" establishments and also for that of educators of those who, as Ogpu well knows, are not criminals, but persons who have led lives of honest work. The educational label was given to the camps with the sole object of closing the mouths of those who talked of slave labour in USSR and of dumping as founded on it; and before Western Europe and America is dangled the charming picture of a socialist idyll of convict life.

The Journey to the Camp

Prisoners are taken to the concentration camps from all the USSR prisons, which are scattered over the vast territory of former Russia. They are conveyed in goods trucks or special police vans with bars inside and bars on the windows and doors. The trucks are meant to contain 28 persons, but actually as many as 60 of the convicts are shut up in them. They are packed so tight that they are never able to lie down at all, but have to crouch down. It is equally impossible to stand up and walk about in the truck. An armed guard of special Ogpu troops accompanies them. The special trains provided are very slow. The *étape* on which I was conducted from Petersburg to Kem, a distance of about 500 miles, took nearly six whole days, and it may be noted the great majority of the prisoners have to travel over a far longer stretch than I had. Convicts appear at the Solovetsk camp who had come even from the Far East, a distance of as much as 6,000 miles away—which had taken 6 to 7 months. The death rate is enormously high in the case of such long expeditions.

We were not fed at all during the six days of the journey. On our departure we each had a dry ration given us consisting of a piece of black bread, weighing about a couple of pounds (one kilogram) and two salted herrings. But the chief hardship of the journey was neither the crowding nor hunger, but

the intolerable thirst we suffered from, which was still further accentuated by the dreadful stuffiness in the trucks. We were given hardly anything to drink during the whole of the journey. One reason for this may be that prisoners' trains do not stop at any stations (for fear of their being seen by any foreigners) but are shunted on to sidings where there is no water. During the whole of our six days we were given water only three times; immediately after leaving Petersburg and twice on the journey. It was brought to us in pails. Those who had mugs got rather more than those who had not—the latter received theirs in the hollow of their hands, only two or three mouthfuls in fact. There were not many who had mugs, because private vessels of all kinds were forbidden in the prisons.

The Arrival at the Sorting Station

Prisoners are brought to one of the camp "sorting stations," of which there are no less than ten at Solovetsk. The main one is on Popov Island and has long had widespread and unenviable notoriety; for thousands of prisoners have there ended their life of travail and suffering.

Popov Island lies seven and a half miles to the east of Kem and to it a branch railway has been constructed. It is separated from the mainland only by a small and narrow strait which at low water is transformed into a marsh. This island has a soil of peaty marsh overgrown with the remnants of a stunted twisted undergrowth, with patches of ice-smoothed granite blocks. There is a timber factory and a landing place for the foreign ships which take on board the wood sawn by the prisoners. About two miles away from the landing place, to right and left of it, are the two sorting headquarters of the camp. Between them they can hold some fifteen to twenty thousand convicts who are kept there from a fortnight to two months. The yearly total, therefore, which this island alone is capable of absorbing comes to 200,000. This figure gives a measure of the work in the Solovetsk camp. After being classified at the sorting station the prisoners are dispatched to various points all over the camp. The distributing headquarters are guarded with the greatest care. They are surrounded by a solid wire fence, with high watch towers all round. There is only one gate, which is guarded by a number of sentries. The *étape* to which I belonged consisted of 500 prisoners but there are others which are much larger.

We reached the distributing centre towards dusk. Although we were exhausted by the journey and tortured by hunger and thirst, we were kept the whole night through in military formation. Our numbers were checked, the roll was called, our documents were examined, and after all this we were searched and sorted out. We could hardly stand, and yet we were given neither food nor drink. The first to be

sorted out were those who had previously worked in the Cheka or the OGPU, and had been exiled for bribery, murder, unauthorized shooting of prisoners and other serious crimes. They were immediately given a privileged position; separate quarters were provided for them and they were fed much better than the rest. To them were allotted the administrative posts of the camp, especially those in the "Information and Inquiry" and the "Culture and Education" departments. Ex-Red Army soldiers, who had also been convicted for criminal offences, strode on to parade next morning in their military uniform, carrying rifles in their hands and were appointed to be our "guard."

The Quarantine Company Accommodation

This sorting was over by about 4 a. m., and then we were marched off to the "quarantine company." Although this is within the bounds of the camp and is surrounded by barbed wire, it has round it an extra wire fence. The building which houses the quarantine section is a long wooden hut-like structure with small windows, most of which have been broken and the gaps covered over with filthy rags. The interior is divided off by two wooden partitions into four rooms called "platoons," a term in keeping with the military organisation of the camp and the division of the prisoners into "companies." The chinks in the partitions were, in places, large enough for a hand to be inserted. The chinks in the outer walls of the hut were smaller but it was possible to look out through them, and when a blizzard raged the snow piled up on the plank beds we slept on. A platoon room was rather more than thirty yards long by five wide, and so resembled a long corridor. A double row of plank beds was laid along both sides of this corridor, and on them the prisoners sleep huddled together. Each sleeper is entitled to a width of just over eighteen inches—a space which he had to make do for all his possessions as well as his own body. He has also to consume on his plank the miserable food doled out, for the building contains nothing else but these bunks. The floor is put together with thin laths which bend beneath the foot, and both the walls and the roof (there is no ceiling) are covered with a layer of dirt and smoke. The hut is heated—but only when the cold is intense—by a miserable little sheet-iron stove, which has a round iron pipe roughly let into an opening cut through on to the roof.

As 250 prisoners go to a "platoon," the whole hut contains 1,000 men. The quarantine hut, like all the others, is bug-infested, and life in it is a terrible trial to the prisoners. It is impossible to keep the bugs down, because the walls are of planks or of wood, and the bunks, being roughly hewn, encourage

the vermin to breed in the chinks and holes in their thousands. A convict has no means whatever of getting hold of them. As neither bedding nor mattresses is ever provided in the camp, he has to sleep on the bare boards and use his clothes for his pillow and covering.

"Education" and Roll Calls

Every morning and evening, and sometimes during the day also, the prisoners are lined up and checked over. Before the roll is called, they have to stand in rows like soldiers for one or two hours on end, and when hailed by the officer in charge of the roll with, "hey, you lousy fellow" or "hail there, you riffraff," they are obliged to answer in proper military fashion.

When I was in the quarantine company, our chief was an ill-educated fellow who had been a burglar in civil life. He was our "education instructor." The "education" consisted in haranguing us two or three times daily, before the roll was called. It was impossible to understand what he said, and he himself did not know the meaning of many of the words he used, but to make up for any deficiencies he larded his speechifying with numerous indecencies. The usual gist of what he said was to the effect that we were "a lazy, lousy crew" who he, our chief and instructor, would teach to lead a hardworking and honourable life, and make us "literate and politically educated." He explained to us that until 1930 the camps had been meant to exterminate the prisoners, but now that they were "re-educating" us.

If we could have been outside the camp, the whole thing might have appeared laughable: a semi-literate burglar as the teacher and educator of professors and scholars whose names were known throughout the length and breadth of Russia, of engineers and other professional men, and of peasants whose whole life had been spent in honest toil. But it was no laughing matter for us, who realised only too well that we were delivered up body and soul to the clutches of him and his like.

Food Rations

We had to listen to our educator's speech before we were given—next day!—our food ration. This was brought to us in dirty wooden tubs which were dumped down on the floor. According to "regulations" we were supplied in the morning with thin, very thin, "gruel" and boiling water. At midday we had our dinner, which was soup, or rather water in which a bit of dried fish or else salt horse or camel flesh had been boiled. But even this wretched mess of often rotten meat and fish did not always reach our mouths because it was eaten up by the lesser officials and the guard, while we had to put up with water which had fermented cabbage leaves

of the previous year swimming about in it. At four o'clock a second helping of boiling water was given out. In addition, those in the quarantine company were supposed to receive one pound (400 grams) of bread, but in fact only three-quarters of a pound (300 grams) was issued.

Both food and water were issued in very limited quantities—about a glassful of liquid for each. No vessels for food were given us, and, literally dying of thirst as we were, after the journey and after a day of torture in the camp without food and drink, we now had nothing to eat the stuff out of. Fortunately were those who succeeded in picking preserve tins from the refuse dumps. The others got their skilly in the hem of their shirts and presented their clasped palms for their hot water.

When it is remembered that the convicts who came to the distributing centre were exhausted by prison life and the fatigues of their long trek, it is not to be wondered at that the starvation regime on Popov Island made the death rate enormous. The hospitals were always crowded out. It is true that we were no longer killed off by floggings nor by being shot down, as our predecessors of 1930 had been, but hunger, cold, dirt, vermin did their work as effectively as ever.

"Disinfection" and "Medical Examination"

The "quarantine" itself consisted in our being strictly isolated and marched off on the first day to the "baths." The water there was absolutely cold except for two small tubs of tepid water which each of us was given. We were obliged to undress in the cold passages, and then our head-hair was cut with No. 0 clippers and our body-hair shaved with blunt razors. After this operation, which was carried out by criminal prisoners, our bodies became covered with scabs and cuts, and many of us suffered from skin rash. We lost all resemblance to human beings. After the "disinfection" our clothes were returned to us, but what had been fur and feather before was now rags and tatters. It is not hard to imagine the scarecrows we were turned into.

After leaving the quarantine, we presented ourselves for medical examination, which was carried out by those of us who were doctors, and always under the strict supervision of Ogpu soldiers. The doctors were previously instructed what percentage of prisoners they might return as suitable for physical labour and what percentage as totally unfit. As they were themselves prisoners, they did not dare to break the Ogpu orders and were often obliged to return as "fit" persons who were thoroughly ill. During my time there were three health categories: (I) those fit for hard physical labour; (II) those fit for light physical labour; and (III) those unfit

for physical labour. The last group included doddering old men and persons who were seriously ill, hardly able to put one foot before another. These were set to work in the offices or given jobs as night watchmen. To this class belonged those who could not walk without assistance or who were bedridden to the end of their days. I. G. Formanov, for example, who was seventy years old and had been a professor of the Agricultural Institute at Moscow, was put into the third class. He had been condemned to ten years' exile for the affair of the 48,* and was brought to the camp on a stretcher after his legs had become paralysed in prison.

But these categories were not adhered to firmly. Thus, when the Ogpu needed extra workers, as it did in 1931 for the digging of the White Sea-Baltic Canal, the convicts of the second and third group were reexamined, and all those who had arms and legs at all were transferred to the first group, i.e., were entered as fit for hard physical labour.

After the quarantine period and the medical examination the prisoners are assigned to their different tasks and distributed among the various branches of the camp. The first to go are, if navigation conditions allow of it, the "non-permits," who are sent off to the Solovetsk Islands. "Non-permits" is the name given to those convicts whose lot is made specially strict and hard for them in the concentration camp or are suspected by Ogpu of a desire to escape abroad. Others are sent off as requirements from the branches necessitate. To specialists with high qualifications are assigned individual tasks. The rest are called up for their jobs quite simply—"a hundred joiners wanted," "a hundred navvies," etc.

Conditions at Kem

A special application for my services was made in June, 1931, by the Fish Industry department of the camp. Until then I had been employed in loading balans (a special kind of beans), in spite of my having been put into the second category. I was sent to Kem, which is the centre of the Solovetsk camp. It is a tiny provincial town or, more properly, a seaside village.

As a specialist I was put into the "cleanest" company where only responsible workers were, but except for the type of prisoner it was in no way different from the others, nor was our system of life any different.

Réveillé was at 7 a. m.; the squad overseer passed down the corridor shouting: "Get-up." The prisoners rise and run off to wash. The wash basin and the latrine are in the same place, and while ten men are satisfying the needs of nature (each with his queue round him) five others, with their queues too, are washing. One thousand men have to wash in half-an-hour. The dirt and stink of the place is beyond imagination. The floor is so disgusting that

* i.e. The execution in 1930 of 48 specialists accused of "wrecking" the Five Year Plan.

one shudders to walk on it. Neither soap nor towels are provided. Just a splash of water over our hands and face and we all run off across the yard to queue up at the kitchen window for our "gruel." No one cares whether it rains or snows—we stand in the open for our food. On getting the ladle-full of millet boiled in water, most of the prisoners gulp their portion down where they stand, without bothering to go back to their bunks in the hut. After that they have to get the documents authorising them to go "outside the wire" and start work in the town. The "work-book" has to be obtained from the official on duty, and in it must be entered the hour and minute of reporting for work. After that, the convict must go into the office and ask for his pass to go "outside the wire." Once he has his pass he must hurry up and "line up," hand the pass over for the sentry to check as he passes through the camp gates, and then go under convoy into the town. He is now one of a gang that is marched along the streets, which are plastered with thick, clinging dirt. In the town all the prisoners are gradually distributed among the various institutions, where their names are entered in a book as they turn up for work.

The day's job goes on without interruption and without food until 5 o'clock; and then, if the work is not specially urgent, the convicts hang around in gangs until the convoy forms them into a general column and leads them back "behind the wire." Only after they have been checked up and their documents handed in are they free to go for their dinner. This is often so repellent as to be uneatable even by a hungry prisoner, and he goes off to his hut to consume there the remains of his daily ration of bread, if he has not already eaten it the same morning. Those engaged in production work are given just over a pound (500 grams) of bread a day, and those on hard physical labour nearly two pounds (800 grams).

At 7 p. m. documents have to be obtained again and the prisoners again go under convoy to their work, which continues till eleven. Not till midnight do they get back to the hut for their "supper"—a ladle of boiled millet and hot water—and so to bed, which means lying on the eighteen-inch bare-board bunk. Even if sleep can be obtained in the dreadful fug and stink, where the prisoners are packed so tight that they are obliged to lie on their sides and, as soon as they are on the planks, are covered all over with bugs, their "rest" period comes only to a total of six hours, out of the twenty-four; all the rest of the time they are on their feet—working or marching to the town or standing in queues. In addition all are checked over every night. This wakes the convict up; the overseers are never quick about getting the counting done and are always afraid someone may have escaped.

All this does not of course kill the prisoners off, but it is easy to imagine how such a regime wears

them down. Those who do not receive food-parcels from their homes infallibly fall ill of scurvy, or break out in boils, and many others contract consumption and heart disease.

The Means Used to Make the Prisoners Work

Since the spring of 1930 prisoners are no longer beaten or tortured or killed for not carrying out their allotted tasks. But OGPU realises thoroughly well that forced labour does not yield good results and that special measures are necessary to induce a prisoner to put all his energies into his work. The means are of two kinds; compulsory and encouraging. The reduction of the bread ration from 800 to 300 grams—an amount insufficient to sustain life for prisoners on heavy physical work—belongs to the former category. Systematic refusal to work is punished by detention in a cell for periods up to thirty days, the prisoner being led out daily to his work. He may also be given solitary confinement and a charge of "incurability" may be brought against him. "Incurables" are shot, not out of hand as they used to be in 1930, but only after sentence has been passed by the court of the Information and Inquiry Department. The main threat used against the specialist is that of being transferred to do "general labour" as a navvy, and, in addition, being formally charged with "wrecking" or "sabotage," a crime which entails either an increase in the period of confinement of as much as three, four or five years, or, usually, death by shooting.

The measures of encouragement are as follows. Convicts who carry out their tasks are paid by OGPU at special rates. The reward they receive is officially called "prize" money, but the prisoners call it "press" money. Labourers may get 3-4 roubles a month and specialists with high qualifications 25-30. The sum received may be spent once a month in the camp store on such "prize" products as two or three packets of shag (each packet containing nearly 2 oz., 50 grams), 7 oz. (200 grams) of melted lard and the same amount of dirty treacle sweets.

There are other kinds of allurements which are far more effective and make the prisoner work and strain his strength to the utmost. The first of these is permission for an interview. If a prisoner carries out his work unexceptionably for six months he may, at the discretion of the authorities, be allowed to see some close relative, usually one only. The interview may take place "in public conditions," that is, in the camp headquarters and last for two hours on each of one to five days. In the case of a "personal" interview, which is the reward for specially exemplary and good work, a prisoner is set free to see his family in the "free quarters" which are rented for the purpose of interviews from the local inhabitants and are, naturally, under the supervision of the guard. On these occasions all

documents are taken away from the prisoner's family, and it is not uncommon for all the members of the family to be subjected to a night search. The prisoner is not exempted from his daily work, but he is at least free to live with his own folk from midnight to 7 a. m. The dream of a meeting like this, which may be granted for a period of one to seven days and in exceptional cases for ten or even fourteen, keeps him alive for a whole year, and on the memory of it he lives till the next meeting. No imagination is needed to realise how hard a man tries and works when he knows there is a chance of living together with his nearest and dearest, even if it is only for a few days.

Another and no less powerful means is the promise of a reduction of the sentence. Every prisoner, however hopeless his position, lives on the dream of being one day free, and Ogpu counts on this to extract from him the last ounce of his strength. In August, 1931, an Ogpu order "on the reckoning of the days of labour" was solemnly read out in all the camps. For those prisoners who had performed their duties in an exemplary manner three months were to be counted as four; in other words a sentence of four years could be converted into one of three. Prisoners who "voluntarily" agreed to work beyond the appointed periods, declaring themselves "shock workers" and enrolling in the special brigades of "enthusiasts of the Five Year Plan" or "reforged workers," could count each two months as three. Those sentenced to three years thus had their spell reduced to two.

Ogpu announced to the world that the construction of the White Sea and Baltic canal, the biggest work which has recently been undertaken, was a marvel, and yet, after the convicts had put the whole of their vigour into an enterprise beyond their physical powers, it was announced on 1st January, 1933, that the "reckoning of the days of labour" was discontinued. This meant that those who had received a bonus of six to nine months saw their sentence prolonged again.

A new enticement was the promise of an amnesty. In the summer of 1933 the "amnesty," which applied only to the 70,000 convicts of the White Sea-Baltic camp, was solemnly announced in all the Soviet newspapers. In reality it was not an amnesty at all, but only the re-establishment, as a special act

of grace, of the "reckoning of the days of labour" (which had been granted and afterwards repealed) for the 70,000; but for the vast majority of prisoners the "reckoning" was not restored. (I heard of this amnesty from a prisoner who had just escaped into Finland from one of the camps.)

Ogpu a Business Concern

I am of opinion that this side of Ogpu's activity has not been appraised at its proper value. Ogpu is not only an organ of political detection, but also a concern with colossal economic resources behind it. With a slave army of more than a million convicts, consisting of first-class labouring material—peasants inured to hard work—and the finest specialists and technicians in all branches of knowledge, Ogpu is able to carry out works, the importance of which reaches beyond the boundaries of the USSR. The timber-felling operations of Ogpu in Karelia have undoubtedly had an influence on the world timber-market. The cutting of the White Sea and Baltic canal by forced convict labour and the construction of motor highways right up to the borders of Finland constitute an immediate threat to the liberties of that civilised and democratic State. The building of the Moscow-Volga canal, which has been begun by the prisoners of Dmitrov camp, and the construction of a number of new railways by those confined in the Camps of Syzran and Kungur have facilitated the export and sale of oil, grain and fish at the cheapest rates.

The incredible fact that the Soviet Government ruined its own industry in 1930, just in the full swing of the Five Year Plan, when by the organisations of wreckers' trials and the deportation of hundreds of thousands of peasants, the very best workers were torn from their roots, really meant that they were transferred to the slave gangs of the Ogpu which became the main industrial undertaking of the USSR. This special role assumed by Ogpu and its business concerns—the concentration camps—also affects the conditions under which the convicts live and makes their plight still more hopeless. Their labour is one of the foundations on which rests the whole regime of the USSR, and Ogpu cannot stop hunting for such game; for if it did, it would undermine the very basis of the Soviet State.

To Friends of the Soviet Union

By MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE

From the "English Review," London, January, 1934

Mr. Muggeridge went to Russia as correspondent of a Liberal British newspaper. No more truthful indictment of the so-called "Liberal" has ever been penned than this scornful open letter to those who defend the Soviet Government in the name of "liberty" or a "great social experiment." Mutatis mutandis the language is equally applicable to American friends of the Soviet Union.

WHO are you, dear Friends of the Soviet Union? You are the righteous minority; upholders of the ideal; denouncers of tyranny and injustice; lovers of truth and liberty; pacifists and saints and free-lovers and philosophers and socialists—in short, the elite or vanguard of the nation. When Jews are oppressed in Germany you raise your voices in protest; Sacco and Vanezzetti, the Meerut prisoners, the Scottsboro' prisoners—these and a thousand other injustices you condemn with eloquence and conviction. The British Raj in India and the Japanese occupation of Manchuria seem to you to be intolerable, and you make the wrongs of all subject peoples your own. Yet—and here precisely lies my problem—you bow your heads in the dust before the dictatorship of the proletariat as established in Russia and as revealed unto men through the agency of Marx the Father, Lenin the Son, and Stalin the Holy Ghost; and this despite the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat has every single characteristic that you so hotly condemn elsewhere, and regards you and all that you stand for with open and unrestrained contempt.

That is to say, the dictatorship of the proletariat is cruel and arrogant; scornful of truth and liberty; indifferent to the suffering of individuals and classes and communities; incompetent and megalomaniac; ruthlessly intolerant of personal and corporate loyalties; hypocritical and stupid and corrupt, and has reduced a large population to a condition of poverty and misery and hopelessness that has to be seen to be believed. None-the-less, dear Friends of the Soviet Union, you sniff round the dictatorship of the proletariat with craven adulation like dogs round ordure.

It may seem a little impertinent on my part to speak so confidently of the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat. You too have visited Russia, and what you saw there served in most cases only to confirm your opinions and enthusiasms. Nearness lent enchantment to your view, and you returned from your conducted excursions to write and lecture and orate with, if anything, increased fervour. Who am I, you may well ask, to back by judgment and observation against, for instance, experienced, though aged social investigators like the Webbs, or talented Jewish journalists like Maurice Hindus, or distinguished scientists like Julian Hux-

ley, or famous men-of-letters, like Bernard Shaw? Here I have to be dogmatic. It is a question of my word against theirs; and naturally, unless I was absolutely convinced of the rightness of my opinion, and had been able to confirm it again and again in the light of actual facts and experiences, I should hesitate flatly to contradict such reputable testimony.

After, however, spending some eight months in Russia; after going about the country a good deal; after a large number of conversations with all sorts and conditions of people; after seeing a lot of plays and films; after reading a lot of newspapers and listening to a lot of speeches; after generally, as the Americans put it, "making contact" with the dictatorship of the proletariat, its personnel and its victims, I came to the conclusion that if it existed anywhere else and in any other terms, you would find it even more intolerable than I do; condemn it more emphatically; hold meetings and write joint letters to the Press protesting against it at least as fervidly as you do against, say, slavery in Liberia or police excesses in India.

This curious contradictoriness in you is, to me at least, more interesting than the Soviet régime. Indeed, the Soviet régime as such is not particularly interesting. Its precise historical significance will only be calculable when it can be looked back on from a decent distance; and its present absurdities and tragedies strikingly resemble, and are only more exaggerated than, the absurdities and tragedies of the contemporary world in general. There is nothing new about its theory or its practice; and, for my own part, I agree with an American professor—one of those American professors whose scholarship is deplorable and whose conversation is delightful—who said that he liked the earlier phases of the Soviet régime because then it was one big, jolly racket, but that now it had split up into a lot of little rackets he found it very much like any other régime, only more disorderly and inefficient. It is probable, I think, that future historians will find the dictatorship of the proletariat entirely in keeping with the unreality and extravagance of the times, and will see in the Five Year Plan a grotesque and characteristically Russian equivalent of American Big Business.

Be that as it may, your attitude towards the So-

viet régime is, at any rate for the moment, more significant and illuminating than the régime itself. Why do you dote on it so, dear Friends of the Soviet Union? What are you after? What's your game? You like peace and the League of Nations don't you? But, dear Friends of the Soviet Union, the bellicosity of von Papen is as a voice piping in the wilderness compared with the bellicosity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. You like people to have the vote and to be able to say what they think don't you? But, dear Friends of the Soviet Union, in Russia no one can speak or write or even think anything at all distasteful to six or seven megalomaniac and not very intelligent bosses without risking his life. As for voting—it is a forgotten institution. The political and social and economic rights of a Soviet worker or peasant are less, infinitely less, than those of a negro in the United States. In fact, he has no rights. In fact, even more than in Oriental countries, he exists to carry out the will of a handful of masters; in the last resort, of one master. You like people to have enough to eat and to wear, and somewhere tolerable to live, don't you? But, dear Friends of the Soviet Union, in Russia the vast majority of the population lacks an adequate supply of the bare necessities of life, and a good proportion of the population is starving. You are people of taste who deplore vulgarity in art, and sensationalism, and sentimentality, aren't you? But, dear Friends of the Soviet Union, in Russia, practically speaking, no art that is vulgar and sensational and sentimental is allowed.

What, then, is one to make of you? At home you despise the taste of the general; in Russia, where no other taste is permissible, you are in ecstasies. You turn up your noses when the popular press exploits, for circulation purposes, the obscene details of some murder or divorce case; in Russia, when, by means of a State trial, the dictatorship of the proletariat exploits the same emotions, only in a more savage and unrestrained form, you exult. Tom Mann gets six months for refusing to promise not to disturb the peace, and you pour out righteous indignation with a warmth and sincerity that does you credit; the dictatorship of the proletariat "liquidates" millions of kulaks, hundreds of thousands of priests, everyone who has your social background and who shares your views and aspirations, and you glorify its name. Profound is your contempt for the obtuseness and prejudices of, for instance, British colonial officials; a little, scrubby Jew in the Soviet Foreign Office, who, outside Russia, would bore you if he did not revolt you, wins your immediate esteem.

Again, putting aside opinions, take your reactions to actual facts. I am certain that if an elementary schoolboy of average intelligence got into a train at Moscow and travelled across the Ukraine, even though, like you, he was accompanied by obsequious Intourist guides, by the time he reached Odessa he

would be aware that he had passed through a melancholy, famished country whose agriculture was derelict, whose fields were weed-ridden and unploughed, whose population was wretched and starving; yet you, the flower of our intelligentsia, writers of books, editors of newspapers, lecturers and givers of wireless talks, instructors of public opinion, professors and enlightened politicians—you travel across the Ukraine and return with golden tales of successful collective farms, and of a happy, ardent, well-fed, class-conscious peasantry.

How, dear Friends of the Soviet Union, do you come to be so easily gulled? Given the fact that your predilections are all in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that Soviet salesmanship is adept, and that your stay in Russia is usually short, and that most of it is occupied with conducted excursions—even then, to hear scientists with international reputations naïvely repeating statistics so fantastic that they have become popular jokes amongst those whose prosperity they purport to express! To hear famous economists draw ponderous conclusions from the "stability" of the rouble which has been so recklessly depreciated that, when I left Russia three months ago, its exchange value was two hundred to the pound, and falling rapidly! To hear earnest social workers describe in glowing terms the manner in which Soviet children are cared for when, so appalling is the under-nourishment in Russia, it will take, on a moderate estimate and assuming conditions improve in the immediate future, two generations for the population to recover from its effects!

I have collected a number of these absurdities, and will quote two from Professor Julian Huxley's book, "A Scientist Among the Soviets."

"While we were in Russia," the Professor writes, "a German town-planning expert was travelling over the huge Siberian spaces in a special train with a staff of assistants. Where cities are to arise, he stops for a few days, picks out the best site, lays down the broad outlines of the future city, and passes on, leaving the details to be filled in by architects and engineers who remain."

"Highly placed personages," he writes further on in the book, "now and again give a good example by taking part in a *subotnik* (that is, voluntary labour). Congestion of unloaded goods wagons in the cities has been a frequent source of food-shortage and economic trouble in Russia. Accordingly unloading food from trucks is a favourable object for these volunteer gangs; and one is told that Stalin himself sometimes comes down to the Moscow goods sidings to help."

Presumably, if a fellow scientist told the Professor that he had devised an apparatus that demonstrated the practicability of perpetual motion, he would, before advertising the discovery, ask to see the apparatus, or at least make some rather searching inquiries about it; the above statements, palpably ridiculous, proved so conclusively by the most

superficial investigation, he accepts at their face value and faithfully records.

No one supposes wilful deception. You do not know that you have been gulled, dear Friends of the Soviet Union. You believe what you say and write. Only how does it happen that you say and write such nonsense? How does it happen that your newspapers and periodicals such as the "Manchester Guardian" and the "New Statesman," in other respects truthful and conscientious, publish news and views about the Soviet régime that are less related to the facts of the case than the wildest scare stories of the popular press?

The answer, I believe, is terribly simple. A ghastly, fearful answer. You are indulgent towards the dictatorship of the proletariat because, in a sort of way, you are, or would like to be, a dictatorship of the proletariat yourselves. You are frustrated revolutionaries, and the spectacle of a revolutionary government in actual existence so intoxicates you that you fall on your knees, senses swooning, in awed worship. Like plain and reluctantly virtuous women fawning on brazen promiscuity you fawn on the dictatorship of the proletariat. When you hear of comrade so and so being taken for a ride you unconsciously lick your lips over the prospect of taking councillor so and so, who opposes your scheme for giving free milk to elementary school children, for a ride. The dictatorship of the proletariat is all-powerful and mouths your aspirations; and you, who have for so long had to be content with spinning your ideas into words, see in it the possibility of translating them suddenly into deeds. Seeing this, you adore; and adoring, you easily become propaganda-fodder.

At home you are, after all, a little community existing on its own and apart from the great mass of your fellow-countrymen. However confident you may be of representing all that is most advanced and enlightened in the nation you are still a minority, and take little direct part in the business of government; are essentially lookers-on; talkers and thinkers and agitators. The "broad" or "toiling" masses are, on the whole, strangely indifferent to your concern for their welfare and advancement. It is with difficulty, and rarely, that you can get yourselves elected to Parliament, let alone entrusted with absolute authority. If, on the other hand, you became a dictatorship of the proletariat you could afford to be different to the "broad" or "toiling" masses. They would not matter then.

Here, it seems to me, lies the real attraction of the Soviet régime in your eyes. It shows you an attainable bridge between the abstract and the concrete. It shows you a means of putting your ideas, not approximately, but exactly into practice; how you can become men of action without having to compromise or to lay yourselves open to the reproaches of your less successful, and therefore more consistent, com-

rades; a way of enjoying unrestricted power without sacrificing one iota of your faith.

How much more agreeable it is to write decrees than to write pamphlets! How much more agreeable to give orders than to canvas constituents! How delightful to fashion, instead of project, a world fit for an enlightened intelligentsia to live in, and to prove the excellence of ideas, not by argument, but by sitting in the Kremlin and commanding their adoption. You have fed for many years on the consciousness of your own superiority. It is not a wholly satisfying diet, and leaves a man in old age lean and bitter. Add to it power, a vitamin, and you become swollen and magnificent. You become a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The fact is, dear Friends of the Soviet Union, the Soviet régime is you; and when you visit Russia you are delighted not so much because of anything you see there as because it is, for you, a home from home. In so far as you have tried to put your ideas into practice the results have been most unsatisfying. Your tilts against marriage with promiscuous lechery have left you exhausted rather than triumphant; Russia is a land where divorce and abortions are free for all, and the Moscow trams still run. Your political careers have been short and unproductive; Russia is a land whose legislation embodies your ideas, and the streets of Moscow are still crowded with people coming and going. Your enemies, who got seconds where you got firsts and were reckoned dull dogs where you were reckoned brilliant, find their way to the House of Lords, and you live in obscure neglect; Russia is a land where the mighty have been pulled down from their seats and the humble and meek exalted, where you have been exalted. At least so it seems to you. Actually you have long ago been slaughtered. Since, however, the slaughter was carried out in your name, and in accordance with principles that you approve, you cannot be expected to relate it to yourselves.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is you in general and in detail; and just as Bloomsbury is the best place to study it, Moscow is the best place to study you. Like you, its energy arises out of frustration and envy and hate and appetite for power. Like you, having been unable either to dominate, or lose itself in, European civilization, it has fallen back on wanting to destroy European civilization. Like you, it fishes in troubled waters; only, instead of championing the restoration of the Cathedral of Santa Sofia to Christianity, it champions the salvation of the toiling masses of Turkey from capitalist exploitation; only, instead of sitting at the feet of a desiccated Oriental demagogue like Gandhi, it instructs Jawaharlal Nehru in proletarian solidarity; only, instead of patronising corrupt Chinese politicians, it invites them to tea with the Comintern. The Kremlin is full of ghosts. Sex reform and the emancipation of women stalk its corridors; free love and co-

education are dim echoes in its halls; proportional representation and humane killing are written faintly on its walls. It is as though thousands of little streams—all your causes and slogans and attitudes—poured into Russia to make one muddy, turbulent whirlpool. It is as though each progressive society and model colony packed up its tents and pilgrimaged to Moscow.

This is the froth. The incoherent fury underneath the froth would make even you, intellectual and spiritual nomads as you are, draw back in horror. But you dare not look on it. You dare not face the mood it would engender in you. Having for so long prided yourself on being ministers of progress, you dare not recognise your real role—camp followers of a barbarian army. You have been protected by the civilised institutions you attack from suffering the consequences of the disintegration you advocate. In Russia disintegration has really come to pass. The dictatorship of the proletariat has created a lawless, absurd desert; and you, dear Friends of the Soviet Union, crawling about in it or admiring it from afar at so many guineas a thousand words, see, like mirages, your own dingy hopes flourishing in it.

“Rien de plus dangereux,” Taine writes, “qu’une idée générale dans des cerveaux étroits et vides; comme ils sont vides elle n’y rencontre aucun savoir qui lui fasse obstacle; comme ils sont étroits, elle ne trade pas à les occuper tout entiers. Des lors ils ne s’appartiennent plus, ils sont maîtrisés par elle; elle agit en eux, et par eux; au sens propre du mot, l’homme est possédé. Quelque chose qui n’est pas lui, un parasite monstrueux, une pensée étrangère et disproportionnée vit en lui, s’y développe et y engendre les volontés malfaisantes dont elle est grosse. Il ne prévoyait pas qu’il les aurait, il ne savait pas ce que contient son dogme, quelles conséquences venimeuses et meurtrières vont en sortir. Elles en sortent fatalement, tour a tour et sous la pression des circonstances, d’abord les conséquences anarchiques, maintenant les conséquences despotiques.”

Karl Marx and you have provided the General Idea, and the dictatorship of the proletariat has provided the empty, narrow mind. The result is the Soviet régime before which you grovel as people once grovelled before a casket containing Marat’s heart.

When I consider how your fatuous idiocies have mocked the unhappy Russian population, and aroused false hopes and expectations amongst victims of economic distress in other countries, and in some cases led them, to their subsequent bitter regret, to emigrate with their families to the proletarian paradise you have so fulsomely advertised, there to starve and suffer and curse your names; when I recollect that Bernard Shaw gaily assured a Moscow audience that neither they nor any other Russians were short of food, and that Sidney Webb “hotly repudiated” the malicious slander that there was forced labour in Russia notwithstanding the fact that the Soviet Press boasts of what has been achieved by political prisoners working under the direction—that is, the guns—of the OGPU; when I

reckon up your private and published reactions to the Soviet régime, you, with your General Idea, seem to me more contemptible, if not more dangerous, than the dictatorship of the proletariat with its empty, narrow mind.

No worse fate can befall a society, dear Friends of the Soviet Union, then to fall into your hands. A General Idea is the most terrible of all tyrants. Individual tyrants have their moods, and must at last die; it is inflexible and immortal. Individual tyrants only require a sense of personal supremacy, only destroy whoever and whatever challenges their personal supremacy; it destroys everything and everyone, is the essence of destruction—in towns, a darkness, a paralysis; in the country, a blight, sterility. Shouting monotonously its empty formula—a classless, social society—it attacks with methodical barbarity, not only men and classes and institutions, but the soul of a society. It tears a society up by the roots and leaves it dead. “If we go,” Lenin said, “we shall slam the door on an empty house.” “Nous ferons un cimetière de la France,” Carrier said, “plutôt que de ne la pas régénérer de notre manière.”

A General Idea enthroned takes no account of the nature of human beings, or of their past history, or of their allegiances. The abolition of property is implicit in it—very well, the dictatorship of the proletariat decrees the abolition of property and thereby creates a situation in which the most vile manifestations of the instinct to possess can have free play. The abolition of classes is implicit in it—very well, the dictatorship of the proletariat decrees the abolition of classes and thereby creates a situation in which economic and social and political privilege can be exercised without restraint, order or limitation. The abolition of the family is implicit in it—very well, the dictatorship of the proletariat decrees the abolition of the family and thereby creates a situation in which sex becomes more obscene than in the most filthy brothel or strait-laced marriage or enlightened necking party.

All you who have hoped that your own pet utopia was being created in Russia; all you who have believed that classlessness and sex equality and new social values and so on were being fostered by the dictatorship of the proletariat should at least realize what is really being done and the price that is being paid by the Russian population. All you idealists and pacifists and despairing persons who look hopefully towards Moscow should at least realize the nature of the thing you admire. If, having realized, you still admire—well and good. It is a point of view. If, so obsessed are you by your General Idea, that you genuinely approve its slow enslavement of a hundred and sixty million people, its slow consumption of the wealth—gold, food, everything—of an enormous country—well and good. It is a point of view. The unforgivable thing—and the thing of which you have notably been guilty, dear Friends of

the Soviet Union—is to pretend, wilfully or unconsciously that your General Idea has brought, or can conceivably bring to Russia happiness or prosperity or hope or peace as these have hitherto been understood in the world. It has brought fear and despair and want; it has degraded every kind of value, moral and spiritual and æsthetic; it has made life for millions of people so empty and aimless that they seem scarcely to live at all—only to fear and breathe.

I cannot imagine any worse possibility even in this unhappy uncertain time than that you should be able to enthrone your General Idea elsewhere. The fact that its first meal would be you, though just, would be no compensation for its subsequent ravages. Your attitude towards the Soviet régime shows how little you realise the General Idea's potentialities. Even so, I notice that few, if any, of you venture to exchange the capitalist tyranny you denounce for the proletarian bliss whose praises you sing so lustily; and it is gratifying to find that working class organisations with which you are connected profoundly distrust your General Idea and the political programme you deduce from it.

You are unquestionably one of the marvels of the age; and I shall treasure as a blessed memory the

spectacle of you travelling with radiant optimism through a famished countryside; wandering in happy bands about squalid, overcrowded towns; listening with unshakable faith to the fatuous outpourings of carefully trained Intourist guides; repeating, like school children a multiplication table, the bogus statistics and dreary slogans that roll continuously—a dry, melancholy wind—over the emptiness of Soviet Russia. There, I used to think, an officeholder in some local branch of the League of Nations Union; there a Godly Quaker who once had tea with Gandhi; there an inveigher against the Means Test and the Blasphemy Laws; there a staunch upholder of free trade and speech; there a preventer of cruelty to animals; there scarred and worthy veterans of a hundred battles for truth and freedom—all, all chanting the praises of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was as though the Salvation Army had turned out with bands and banners in honour of some ferocious tribal deity, or as though a highbrow critic had hailed "Cavalcade" as the greatest masterpiece since Shakespeare, or as though the organ of a vegetarian society had issued a passionate plea for cannibalism.

A LONG double line of aging men, peasants evidently, judging by their dress, untrimmed hair and full beards, came toward me with heads bent forward and dragging steps, along a dusty road.

Their feet were wrapped in woven wicker moccasins made from what looked like split willow shavings, held on by windings of rags which extended half way up to the knees and bound in the lower extremities of their baggy trousers. Their gait could not have been more convict-like if the ankle chains which seemed to impede their steps had been real instead of imaginary.

A Red guard walked at the head of the column and two guards brought up the rear. One of the old men was sobbing quietly, like a lonesome child.

They were all gaunt and tall, much taller than the average Russian left after the revolution. Their homespun blouses and caps and their stature indicated that they were of a



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By J. N. (DING) DARLING

different class from the workers of the city through which they had trudged.

It took only one guess to know who they were. "Kulaks." Those more thrifty and prosperous farmers who had accumulated, by their industry and frugality, more land, more cattle and more personal property than their neighbors and who used hired help to work their farms.

Their virtues had been their destruction. When the areas in which they had lived were forced into collectivization by the agents of the Soviet government they had rebelled and refused to turn over their

possessions to the state and go in on an equal footing with the lazy peasant who had loafed all his life and turned over nothing at all.

They were now on their way to chop wood in Siberia or some equally safe place away from home where their influence would not upset the works.

The Impolite Visitor

A review of Malcolm Muggeridge's "Winter in Moscow" (Little, Brown Co., Boston). From "Time and Tide," an *English Review*, March 17, 1934.

Malcolm Muggeridge, an English newspaperman with sympathetic leanings towards Communism and the Soviet State made a sojourn in Moscow. Disillusioned and embittered, he recorded his findings in the work here reviewed. His stinging article on "Friends of the Soviet Union" is also included in this collection.

IN ONE of those sketches called *Voces Populi*, with which F. Anstey made gay the pages of Victorian *Punch*, he introduced a party of tourists being shown over an historical mansion. And one of the visitors was rude and, if I remember, affronted the ducal butler by blurting out uncomfortable facts and disconcerting questions. It was unpardonable; and resented by his companions. No doubt many of his fellow Radicals—for Mr. Muggeridge is still impenitently "left"—will resent this book. Other visitors to Russia have given us some of the facts; a few, notably Mr. Lockhart, Mr. Lyall and Miss Cicely Hamilton, have told us the truth; but Mr. Muggeridge is the first visitor to the great mansion of the Soviets shamelessly to transgress the rules of hospitality, to discard the obligations of courtesy—to speak and behave about what is in power in Russia as other Radicals have done about what happens in Germany. And he has done it because he has been seized with an intolerable pity, a burning indignation, a passion for justice and equality, a deep sense of the rights of the person, which is not weakened because, like Jonathan Swift, he seems to care very little for men in the bulk, Man as an object of worship. The visitors to a ducal mansion, when the butler calls attention to a pompous portrait—"A masterpiece by Van Swiegel of the seventh Duke; his Grace was well known for his skill in the hunting-field, and his love of dogs"—may murmur "I doubt the attribution to Van Swiegel" and be subject only to a supercilious smile from the butler. If, however, he exclaim "And a filthy old blackguard he was; made his pile by sweating naked children in coal mines, killed three wives, and beat a footman to death," he will, metaphorically, be thrown out on his ear.

Mr. Muggeridge is that impolite visitor. Shown the wonders of modern machinery, he exclaims—"But it's killing people"; asked to admire the improvements in town-planning, he cries "But I've seen men and women starving—not hungry, starving"; taken to the haunts of the intelligentzia, he watches them and asks "But why aren't any of you allowed to say what you think? There is no freedom here, and no joy." Nor is it any answer to tell Mr. Muggeridge that there is dismal poverty in England or elsewhere; that there are injustices and persecutions for opinion in other countries than Russia; that elsewhere, too, man becomes enslaved to the

machine. The tragedy is not that these things happen in Russia; but that the Soviet philosophy demands that they shall happen, while the Christian philosophy, however vile has been the practice of some Christian countries, demands that they should stop. The Christian philosophy, however Christians may spit at it, is indissolubly tied to the belief that the fall of a sparrow is God-watched, and that to hurt the most insignificant person is a capital crime. The Soviet philosophy decrees that any harm to the person is justified if it helps the Machine to go on; the Proletariat must be deified and adored if only by millions of dead in a wilderness of snow.

So the poets are against it; and Mr. Muggeridge is primarily a poet. His book does not pretend to be a record of facts, though there are grim facts in it; it does not profess to be a reasoned catalogue of charges, though some of the charges are detailed enough. It is a satirical poem; a lyric of hate, if you will, but of hate inspired by a desperate hope that it is for man to justify himself and his existence by love; otherwise let the night come.

Necessarily, unless he was to harm people still in Russia, Mr. Muggeridge has written in the guise of fiction—his book is story, satirical essay, sardonic comment. Some of the persons, particularly some of his fellow-visitors, who cooed admiration as the butler showed them round, are easily recognizable—but it is not his satire at their expense which gives the book its value, though it adds to our entertainment. What gives *Winter in Russia* its value is that the author's indignation is roused, not because a Revolution has succeeded, but because it has failed, and the people are betrayed in the sacred name of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Near the end of the book his chief character, Wraithby, discusses his despair with Blythe, an Englishman who has accepted Soviet nationality; Wraithby argues the Revolution

"never did happen really. It was a betrayal, a fraud from the beginning. Do you remember how, when Trotsky and the others went to negotiate the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, they took with them six workers and six peasants? The six workers and peasants were given rooms and meals. They just stayed there and took no part in the negotiations. They were just a façade, a sham. It's been like that the whole way through." "Perhaps so," Blythe said. "But I don't think so. I think there was a moment, very short, very soon passed, when Lenin and his miserable crew were

servants, not masters. That moment was the most important so far in the history of the human race."

There is something of the fierceness of the minor prophet about Mr. Muggeridge. And prophets are not notorious for equanimity. No doubt he needs to learn the lesson of Elijah. There are almost certainly thousands in Russia who have not kissed the image of Baal, far more than he admits. Yet his book is one that should have been written. This exposure of the fanaticism of the enthusiasts, of the sheep-like obeisances of the foreign visitors, of the fear of the resident foreign journalists, will do good here, and in Russia if it is allowed to go there. For here is a man who thinks that souls are more important than statistics, that liberty is better than

theories about it, and that success must be judged, not by obedience to a formula, but by results on society. The old Russia used to keep in its churches the bodies of the holy men, a witness, childish, if you will, to the belief that sanctity could outlast corruption; and the people came and worshipped. The new Russia, condescending inconsistently to the superstition of the simple, keeps in the Red Tomb the body of Nicolai Lenin, and the people come and worship. The old cult was a cult of life, a confession to the truth of immortality. That cult is despised, that confession is proscribed. To what does the embalmed body of Lenin testify? Mr. Muggeridge holds, and it is hard to contradict him, that the new cult is a cult of death and a profound despair.

An American Journalist in Russia

A Review of Chamberlin's "*Russia's Iron Age*"

By JOHN LA FARGE, S.J.

William H. Chamberlin, foreign correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, has recently left Russia after a stay of fourteen years, and tells some of his experiences in his book, *Russia's Iron Age*. He points out how badly the world has been deceived as to the status of the Soviet "collectivisation" programme as realised in agriculture. "The harvesting combines," he remarks, "which are supposed to symbolise the march of progress in agriculture, sometimes find the going hard in the seas of weeds which are found on many State and collective farms." . . . "There has been a huge 'liquidation' of the more well-to-do and incorrigible individualistic peasants, loosely and conveniently dubbed kulaks. They have been packed in freight cars and shipped off in hundreds of thousands, if not in millions, for forced labour in timber camps, on canals, in new construction enterprises." During the winter of 1932 and the spring of 1933 stark famine levied a toll of 10 per cent. upon a population of fifty or sixty millions. His information was drawn not from the peasants alone, but from local Soviet officials and collective-farm presidents. "There is something epically and indescribably tragic in this enormous dying out of millions of people, sacrifices on the altar of a policy which many of them did not even understand. The horror of this last act in the tragedy of the individual peasantry is perhaps intensified by the fact that the victims died so passively, so quietly, without arousing a stir of sympathy in the outside world. The Soviet censorship saw to that." The results of the violent and forcible collectivisation policy? That the Soviet Union lost over half of its horses, almost half of its big-horned cattle, almost two-thirds of its sheep and goats, and

over 40 per cent. of its pigs. "In 1931 and 1932 the Soviet Union, with a population of over 160,000,000 realised less grain than the same territory in pre-war days, with a population of 138,000,000. . . . On the crucial question of *responsibility* for this catastrophe, Chamberlin is unflinching in his judgment: "Famine," in his striking words, "was quite deliberately employed as an instrument of national policy, as the best means of breaking the resistance of the peasantry to the new system where they are divorced from personal ownership of the land and obliged to work on the conditions which the State may dictate to them and deliver up whatever the State may demand of them." It was *not* an inevitable event. "The Soviet Government could easily have averted the famine from its own resources if it had desired to do so. A complete cessation of the export of foodstuffs in 1932 or the diversion of a small amount of foreign currency to the purchase of grain and provisions would have achieved this end."

Mr. Chamberlin finds in Russia no equal sharing; rather the opposite, the growth of a new aristocracy based upon exploitation by the helpless. The problem of culture is not solved; while the country remains flooded with anti-religious propaganda. The régime, in his opinion, can only be understood as a "tragedy of cruelty, of the crushing out of innumerable individual lives, not from sheer wanton selfishness, but from perverted, fanatical idealism." All cost calculation of the first Five Year Plan went completely awry. Unemployment has been abolished only in the sense that an inhuman alternative has been substituted. Mr. Chamberlin's revelations are but another proof that the truth, however vigorously suppressed, will make itself heard at long last.

The Admission of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

To The League of Nations at Geneva, September 18, 1934

Excerpts of a speech pronounced on that occasion by Dr. Joseph Motta, chief delegate of the Swiss Federation to the League Assembly and four times president of the Swiss Federal Council. Switzerland voted against admission.

What Is the Bolshevik Regime and What Is the Soviet Government?

IN THE first place, permit me to concentrate upon the substance of this question, subordinating all secondary points. With this qualification I will attempt to give a clear outline of what the problem of Soviet admission to the League of Nations means for the people of the world.

One question is fundamental. It is this: Can a regime or a government, whose theory and practice embrace positive, militant Communism, fulfill the conditions laid down for admission into this body?

Let no one imagine that I intend to limit this discussion to the terms of the Preamble or to the literal meaning of the Covenant of the League of Nations. To be sure, powerful arguments could be developed from both Preamble and Covenant taken in their literal sense, but they would remain secondary unless we reinforce them with the more profound implications of the Pact, with the original purpose of an association of nations, and with all that may be said to pertain to its unwritten law. In this case we must never lose sight of the prescriptions of nature and the suppositions of all law.

Communism Seeks to Destroy All That Is Most Sacred to Us

In every domain, that of religion, morality, sociology, politics, and economics, Communism is the exact negation of all those principles that form the warp and woof of our lives. For that reason, the majority of civilized nations categorically forbid the spreading of communistic propaganda; all nations condemn Communism as a crime from the moment it seeks to pass from the realm of theory to the field of action.

First and foremost, the Soviet exponents of Communism wage war upon the idea of religion, seeking to discredit the spiritual element in man under all its forms. Lenin's comparison of religion to opium for the people is notorious. Under such a system, liberty of conscience cannot be more than a form of words. Those who persist in the practice of Divine worship together with their families are visited with the heaviest of penalties: privation of

the necessary food-cards. Churches of all creeds are confiscated and then allowed to fall to ruins. In former days there were five hundred churches and chapels in Moscow alone; now there remain at most forty. The great organized bodies of Christians throughout the world feel themselves crucified body and soul in the person of their suffering fellow-Christians who in the land of the Soviet still have the courage openly to profess their loyalty to the Divine Christ. Only one year ago, in Switzerland, a document, which was described as a "prayer of martyrs," received the formal adherence of over two hundred thousand signatories.

Then, too, Communism undermines family life. It suppresses individual initiative. It does away with private property. It mobilizes the workers on collective farms and in industrial centers in forms that can with difficulty be distinguished from convict labor. The vast land of the Soviets has been visited by the dread spectre of famine, while the most impartial observers are at a loss to determine whether the ensuing decimation of populations is a purely natural phenomenon or the necessary consequence of a social and economic system infected with disease and poison in its very roots.

Striking and revolutionary as are these characteristics of Communism as I have described them to you, they are not the whole picture nor even the most typical note of the Soviet scene. From the point of view of sound international relations and the indispensable principles of life that govern those relations, the essential and outstanding feature of Russian Communism is its invincible, inevitable, irrepressible tendency to secure universal domination. Sovietism of its very nature scatters its seeds to the four heavens. Of set purpose it aims to bring about world revolution. By nature and by its primitive inspiration it is impelled to resort to the dissemination of propaganda outside the borders of the Soviet Union. This is its law of life: a dynamism which can no more remain dormant than it can deny the very reason for its being. In such an outlook political frontiers cease to have meaning. In spite of temporary deviations and opportunistic experiments, Communism is committed to world revolution. In order to remain true to itself it must

remain the natural enemy of all organized society. Though the peril may admit of various degrees of actuality, the threat is never withdrawn. It is always a sword part-way out of the scabbard. It would be the easiest thing in the world for me to support each one of these assertions with official texts drawn from the Soviet decrees and constitutions, but I will spare my audience such a superfluous carrying of coals to Newcastle. We are dealing with uncontested and incontestable truths.

Some Objections Refuted

I can almost overhear the whispered objection of some: We must be on our guard not to confound the Communist party with the Bolshevik State.

That objection, in my judgment, is not valid. The Bolshevik State, the Communist Party, and the Third International constitute a single moral unit. The Bolshevik State was established in order to give concrete embodiment to the program of the Communist Party. Naturally enough, therefore, Lenin combined in his person the functions of the chief of the State and the leader of the party. The man, who is now Secretary General of the Party, Joseph Stalin, although not the nominal head of the Government, is the undisputed master of the body politic. The bonds which bind the State to the party are in this way unbreakable. What the party commands, it is the duty of the State to carry out.

There is a second objection. Since it is more important, I will endeavor to subject it to careful examination.

The Union of Socialist and Soviet Republics constitutes, we are assured, an immense territory wherein live one hundred and sixty millions of people. With one great outlet in the Far East and the other facing Europe, this Soviet land has an undeniable significance for both continents. To try to ignore or to hold at a distance such an important factor in the world would be a policy fraught with danger. Now, the League of Nations, on the other hand, is only a new form of international collaboration; it is not a seminary of moral theology; it is a form of political association whose vision embraces both hemispheres and whose principal consecration is to the cause of world peace. Consequently, it is argued, if the admission of Soviet Russia to the League of Nations can in any way serve the cause of international friendship and help to prevent wars, it is the part of reasonable, constructive statesmanship to adapt oneself to circumstances. Fears, scruples, instinctive repugnances must be suppressed. They have no place in the orderly processes of government. Or is it forbidden to cherish the hope that the constant collaboration of Soviet Russia with the other States at Geneva will facilitate a beneficent evolution of the Soviet Union, an evolution which will have advan-

tages for every nation in the world and for Russia above all?

Ladies and gentlemen, you may be surprised if I must confess myself utterly unimpressed by this line of reasoning. To be sure, the Governments of France, Great Britain, and Italy have already stated this thesis to the Swiss Federal Council through their diplomatic representatives at Berne. To me as head of the political division of the Federal Government it was entrusted to carry on conversations with these statesmen in a spirit of great cordiality and friendship. Not for an instant, however, was there any suggestion of pressure, no matter how indirect, with reference to Swiss policy and I take this occasion to offer the most direct and formal denial of certain rumors in this connection that would not promote the public weal.

It Is Impossible to Believe in the Evolution of Bolshevism

However earnestly we representatives of Switzerland endeavored to grasp the viewpoints of other Governments, and notably the explanations of the three Great Powers, we for our part were obliged in conscience to maintain as the pivot of our foreign policy a different set of principles. To be sure, a country as tiny as Switzerland cannot hope to play a decisive role in world politics, but it can follow to the end its concept of duty and principle. Whatever may be permitted to others, we people of Switzerland can never yield to a policy of opportunism, by whatever name adorned. We have no basis of emulation with the other nations of the earth save in the realm of moral grandeur.

What are we bound to declare, therefore, with respect to this alleged evolution of Bolshevism? Our answer is clear and direct: We are unable to put one scintilla of faith in such a view. On strict moral grounds it is impossible for us to sacrifice an irreducible minimum of ethical policy to the exigencies of a so-called principle of universality. In our judgment, the League of Nations is, or ought to be, one of the grandest and most glorious of human conceptions. It was in response to the challenge of this moral ideal that on the sixteenth day of May, 1920, the Swiss people and the Swiss cantons, subordinating some of their most cherished traditions, voted unanimously that the Confederation would cast its lot with the League of Nations.

Today, there is an analogous community of opinion and decision. Upon patriotic grounds and a long-range view of the national interest, the people of Switzerland are constrained to believe that the League of Nations is taking one decisive step upon a dangerous adventure. The Swiss have no confidence in the unnatural union of fire and water. They remember Lenin's mordant description of the League as a "den of thieves"; nor are they inclined

to be hoodwinked by the sudden cessation of the tide of abuse for League institutions which but lately emanated from Moscow. Those who have eyes may see on the darkening horizon of the Far East the clear explanation for the new Soviet policy. We have no confidence in this conversion based clearly upon political expediency. Nor do we wish to co-operate in an act which will confer upon Russia the aureole of a prestige which to date it has not enjoyed.

Vigilance Is Our Watchword, and Our Voice Will Be Raised in the Name of Conscience

Of course, we are all aware that the decision has been taken. The die has been cast. At the same time, we must prefer the role of a watchman upon the walls of Israel. Our word of warning must be spoken aloud. To be sure, we hope that the events of the future may indicate that our apprehensions have been exaggerated. What is more important is that we count upon the help of all the other States to prevent the Soviets from turning Geneva into a seed-bed of communistic propaganda. We Swiss will be on the watch. That is our duty. And for the present, we have fulfilled an obligation in not having it announced to the world that the Union of Socialist and Soviet Republics was welcomed into the League

of Nations by a unanimous vote. Although the Bolshevik State enters the sacred portals of world society, it does so bereft of the triumphal crown of bay-leaves reserved for the virtuous and the brave.

And as soon as Soviet Russia shall have claimed admission, the Council and the Assembly of the League will be apprized of certain questions which remain upon the record. It will not be permitted that the resolutions of the Assembly with reference to the independence of Georgia will remain dormant. Armenia, the Ukraine, and other sections will have champions in the persons of statesmen who are not afraid to speak out in the name of our common humanity. Let no one assert: These questions will not arise. Whether Soviet Russia likes it or not, the sympathy of the civilized world accompanies those heroes who strive to defend their lives and their liberties. True rights can never be extinguished by prescription.

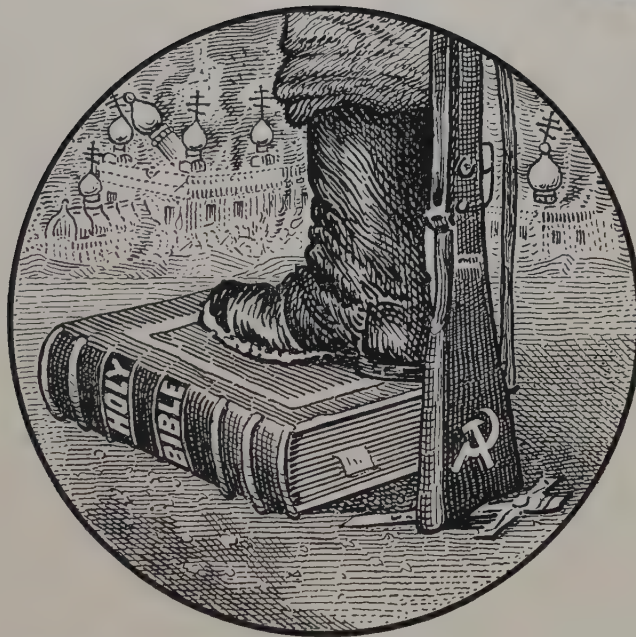
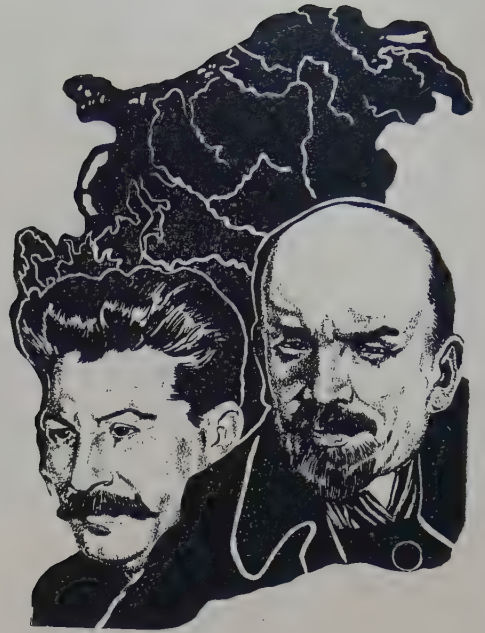
Above all, when the Soviet delegates arrive at Geneva, they will hear courageous voices raised to demand in the name of conscience explanations from the Soviet Government with respect to its policy of religious persecution. Statesmen will be found to denounce the Soviet anti-religious propaganda which by the admission of all is unparalleled in the history of the world.

"After having tried for such a long time with all our mind and all our heart to relieve the sufferings of the Russian people, we feel it our duty, imposed on us by the universal paternal mission which God has entrusted to us, to warn most earnestly and exhort all men and especially all heads of governments in the name of our Redeemer that all those who love peace and the public welfare and all those who believe in the sanctity of the family and in human dignity may unite to avert from themselves and their fellows the grave dangers and inevitable injuries of socialism and communism."

PIUS XI
Consistorial Allocution
December 18, 1924

PART II

International Atheism



Its sources and present status in an area approximately one-seventh of the world. Its programme—achievements—and greatly feared antagonist, the Catholic Church

The Soviet Campaign Against God

On many occasions, in Encyclicals, Allocations and in public audiences, the present Sovereign Pontiff, Pius XI, has drawn the attention of the civilized world to the attack on religion fostered and promoted by the Soviet government. The document which follows dated February 2, 1930, was the most specific and strongest of the Papal utterances.

To Our Venerable Brother, Cardinal Basilio Pompili, Bishop of Velletri and Our Vicar-General in Rome:

MY LORD CARDINAL,

We are deeply moved by the horrible and sacrilegious crimes that are repeated every day with increasing wickedness against God and against the souls of the vast population of Russia, all of whom are dear to Our heart because of the greatness of their sufferings and because so many sons and servants of this holy, Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, devoted and generous even to heroism and martyrdom, are numbered among them.

From the very beginning of Our Pontificate, following the example of Our Predecessor of holy memory, Benedict XV, We multiplied Our efforts to put an end to this terrible persecution and to avert the grievous evils that press upon these people. We were also at pains to ask the Governments represented at the Conference of Genoa, to make, by common agreement, a declaration which might have saved Russia and all the world from many woes, demanding as a condition preliminary to any recognition of the Soviet Government, respect for conscience, freedom of worship and of church property.

Alas, these three points, so essential above all to those ecclesiastical hierarchies unhappily separated from Catholic unity, were abandoned in favour of temporal interests, which in fact would have been better safeguarded, if the different Governments had first of all considered the rights of God, His Kingdom and His Justice. Alas, they rejected also Our intervention directed to save from destruction and to preserve to their traditional use the sacred vessels and ikons—things which formed a treasury of piety and art, dear to the hearts of all Russians. We have, however, had the consolation of having saved from trial on a capital charge and of having otherwise aided the Patriarch Tikhon, the head of that hierarchy, unhappily severed from Catholic unity.

Meanwhile, the generous offerings of the Catholic world saved from famine and a horrible death more than 150,000 children, who were daily fed by Our envoys, until they were forced to abandon their pious work by those who preferred to give thousands of innocent children to death rather than see them fed by Christian charity.

This sacrilegious impiety rages against all priests and the adult, faithful, amongst whom, in addition to other victims faithful to the service of God, We hail in a particular manner, Our most beloved sons, Catholic priests and religious, imprisoned, deported, and condemned to forced labour, with two of their bishops, Our venerable brethren Boleslao Sloskan and Alessandro Frison, and with Our representative for the Slav rite, the Catholic Exarch Leonida Fiodorov. But the organizers of the campaign of Atheism and the "anti-religious

front," wish above all to pervert youth, abusing their simplicity and ignorance. For instead of imparting instruction, science and culture, which like honesty, justice and goodness itself, cannot prosper and flourish without religion, they organize the "Militant No-God League." They deceitfully hide their moral, cultural and even economic decadence by an agitation as barren as it is inhuman, in which children are urged to denounce their parents, to destroy and defile sacred buildings and emblems, and, above all, to dishonour their own souls with every vice and the most shameful excesses. The authors of these things wish to destroy religion and God Himself: what they effect is rather the ruin of intelligence and even of human nature.

We have often lamented these horrors in Our Consistorial Allocations, and more recently in Our Encyclical on the education of youth. We Ourselves have not ceased to pray daily and get others to pray for these millions of souls redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, who now are driven to profane their baptism, to abjure the ancient devotion of their families to the Blessed Virgin, and, finally, to dishonour the sanctuary of the home itself.

Now, in order better to organize co-operation with Our efforts against these great evils, We have instituted a special Commission for Russia, entrusting its presidency, as you know, to Our beloved son, Cardinal Luigi Sincero. From the very first week of Our Pontificate, We approved and enriched with indulgences the ejaculatory prayer "O Saviour of the World, save Russia!" and again, in the course of the last few months, two forms of prayer in which the people of Russia are commended to the protection of the sweet wonder-worker of Lisieux, St. Teresa of the Infant Jesus. We have also given Our approval to the movement begun last November by the Institute of Oriental Studies, of holding conferences, furnished with documentary and scientific proofs, for making known to the public at large some of the sacrilegious outrages that the members of the "Militant No-God League" are organizing in the vast Soviet territory, outrages going far beyond and against the text of the Revolutionary Constitution, though that was already very anti-religious. We have noted with pleasure that this example, given by Rome, was followed, a month later, by similar conferences held in London, Paris, Geneva, Prague and other cities.

But the fresh outbreak of blasphemies and sacrileges, now officially published, demands a still more universal and solemn reparation. During the the feast of last Christmas, not only were many hundreds of churches closed, numerous ikons burnt, all the workers forced to work, the children compelled to attend school, and the Sundays suppressed; but things have come to such a pass, that those employed in the workshops, both men and women, are forced to sign a declaration of

formal apostasy and hatred of God, under pain of being deprived of their tickets for food, clothing and lodging, without which every inhabitant of that unhappy country must die of hunger, distress and cold. Moreover, there were organized in all towns and many villages infamous carnival pageants, similar to those which the foreign diplomats beheld last Christmas in Moscow itself, in the very centre of their capital. Lorries were seen going by, on which were numbers of youths, dressed in sacred vestments, holding crosses which they spat upon. On other lorries there were erected large Christmas trees, on which numerous dolls, dressed to represent Catholic and Orthodox Bishops, were hung by the neck. Then, in the middle of the city, other youths performed acts of sacrilege of every kind against the Cross.

Therefore, that We Ourselves may make, in the best possible way, an act of reparation for all these outrages, and also that We may invite the faithful of the whole world to this reparation, We have determined, on the feast of St. Joseph, the nineteenth day of March, to go to Our Basilica of St. Peter's and there to celebrate over the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, a Mass of expiation in propitiation and reparation for these great and awful offences against the Divine Heart; for the salvation of the many souls exposed to these terrible trials; for the consolation of Our beloved Russian people; that this great tribulation may completely cease; and that they, both individually and as a nation, may return with all speed to the One Fold of the One Saviour and Liberator, Christ Jesus Our Lord. After having asked pardon and pity from His Sacred Heart, for the sufferers and likewise for their oppressors, We shall pray to the most holy and immaculate Virgin Mary, Mother of God, to her chaste spouse, St. Joseph,

patron of the universal Church, to the special protectors of Russia, the holy Angels, St. John the Baptist, St. Nicholas, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, SS. Cyril and Methodius, and all the other Saints, and especially St. Teresa of the Infant Jesus, to whom We have in a particular manner entrusted the future of these souls.

We invite you, Lord Cardinal, to make fitting arrangements for this solemn supplication. We are confident that not only the clergy and people of Our city of Rome, but also all Our Venerable Brethren of the Catholic Episcopate, and the whole Christian world, will unite with Us in Our prayers, either on the same day, or on some other feast day.

We are sure that Divine Providence will, at the time determined by Itself, provide the means necessary to repair the moral and material ruin of this vast territory, which makes up one-sixth of the entire world. We, till then, shall continue with all the strength of Our soul, in this prayer of reparation and propitiation, which will draw down, as We trust, Divine Mercy on the people of Russia.

And in this confidence We bestow from Our heart on you, Lord Cardinal, and on all those who will unite themselves with Us in this crusade of prayer, the Apostolic benediction, as a pledge of heavenly graces.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, the second day of February, the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the year nineteen-hundred-and-thirty, the eighth of Our Pontificate.

PIUS XI
POPE



The Two Standards in 1935

A Survey of the State of Religion in Russia

By EDMUND A. WALSH, S.J.

Vice-President of Georgetown University

Former Director-General,

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ON EASTER morning, 1923, the writer of these lines climbed the gradual ascent that leads to a hill overlooking the city of Moscow. It is called *Varabyovi Gori*, Sparrow Hills. From that eminence, where Napoleon stood in 1812 and gazed down on the evacuated stronghold of the Tzars which was eventually to conquer even his Grand Army and shatter his dream of universal empire, one commands a sweeping panorama of the plain and the Moskva River. Below, in a gray, wintry landscape, sprawled the many-towered capital of the Soviets, a huge colorful mosaic of tiled roofs in many a hue, slender spires, glittering domes and graceful minarets. In the background, dominating that scene of oriental splendor rose the historic Kremlin, a red flag floating above the dome of its central building.

For four days during the previous fortnight the present writer had sat in a Bolshevik courtroom, where a revolutionary tribunal was prosecuting fourteen men on trial for their lives because of religious beliefs and practices. He heard the Soviet Government, in the person of Krylenko, the Public Prosecutor, put Cæsar's age-old alternative to the prisoners:

"Will you stop teaching the Christian religion?"

"We can not," came the unvarying answer. "It is the law of God."

"That law does not exist on Soviet territory," replied Krylenko. "You must choose. As for your religion, I spit on it, as I spit on all religions."

The basic issue was thus clearly stated by the Soviet Government and as clearly faced by its victims. They went, unflinching, to death or to prison in 1923; one, a distinguished prelate of the Catholic Church, had his brains blown out on Good Friday night. Their successors in the Faith are facing the same alternative—as old as Christianity itself—with the same fortitude in 1935.

To be sure, the customary denial of religious persecution was duly cabled from Moscow in 1923, and complete liberty of conscience vindicated, provided, of course, it be exercised within existing legislation. The charge against the victims in 1923 was "counter-revolution"; the same mendacious and cynical pretext is still invoked in 1935. This interpretation, which seems to satisfy certain timid souls in America and elsewhere, is to be expected, as de-

nial and counter-charge have formed the order of the day in every attack on religion. The Roman Emperors first set that fashion by outlawing Christianity and then massacring Christians in the Coliseum *not precisely because of their religion*, but for illegally refusing to offer a few grains of incense to the pagan deities.

Every visitor to Rome is sure to take his stand some late afternoon on the hill where Romans congregate to watch the sun go down behind St. Peter's. The Pincio is one of the most enchanting spots in the world at eventide. Through an overhanging arch of shade trees, with the sound of running water in his ears, one gazes over the tranquil roofs of the Eternal City across the Tiber to the massive pile that crowns the Vatican Mount. There his eye is caught and held by the Cross that springs from the summit of Michael Angelo's classic dome, silhouetted against a saffron sky.

The world is face to face today with the necessity of making a momentous choice. There are two signs in the heavens, one clearly discernible from that hill outside Moscow, and the other from the Pincio.

The Negation of God

Religious liberty, being inherent to the very concept of rational human freedom, is coëxtensive with the human soul whose dignity demands it. Wounded in one land, it is menaced throughout the whole body of humanity. Bought by the blood of too many martyrs of every race and tongue to be considered a parochial or a national possession, it has been so woven into the very texture of our thoughts that the Catholic conscience, by a kind of natural instinct, springs spontaneously to the defence when that right is challenged anywhere. And that it is being challenged by the Soviet State at this moment is matter of such common knowledge that he who denies it may well be classed with him who denies the existence of the noonday sun even when it is pouring its effulgence into the market-place. Communism, which is the controlling political philosophy of the present Soviet government, demands the abolition of all religious belief and practice in every territory where Communism obtains the mastery. It has frankly proclaimed its intention to impose atheism by force on the individual, the family, the State, the world. The Moscow Commissars, exer-

cising undisputed mastery over 170,000,000 helpless Russians and controlling one-sixth of the area of the earth, frankly and cheerfully propose as their ideal what Gladstone so well described in his succinct phrase: "*The negation of God erected into a system of government.*"

It has been estimated that from eight to ten thousand persons have been executed for refusing to submit to the obligatory atheism of the Soviet State. Practically all the Catholic clergy of Russia has disappeared since the Revolution through judicial murder, starvation, exile or imprisonment. The martyrology is a long and glorious one. It would be a capital error, then, to imagine that religious persecution in Russia has ceased.

Before 1917 there were considerably more than 13,000,000 Roman Catholics in the Russian Empire, served by 4,600 priests. In that specific territory, which may for convenience be described as Muscovite Russia, exclusive of the Kingdom of Poland, there was one Archdiocese and six suffragan sees. Moghileff, the seat of the metropolitan, exercised jurisdiction over the largest ecclesiastical province in the world, embracing three-fourths of European and the whole of Asiatic Russia—5,450,400 square miles. Two of its Archbishops I had the honor to know personally. The first, Von Ropp, had been imprisoned by the Bolsheviks and then driven into exile. The second was the heroic Cieplak, whom I saw stand unflinching in a circle of bayonets before the Revolutionary Tribunal and deliver his "*non possumus*" to the new Cæsars. Sentenced to death at midnight of Palm Sunday, 1923, he turned and raised his hand in a last episcopal blessing to certain friends hidden in the throng of jeering Communists who had flocked to the court to enjoy the Neronian spectacle. For the condemnation had been predetermined, the hour deliberately chosen for its awe-inspiring value and admission was by ticket. As Macaulay says, of the State trials under Henry VIII, it was "murder preceded by mummery." Justice was caricatured to make a Soviet holiday. Saved by the indignant protests of civilized nations from the tragic fate which befell Monsignor Budkiewicz on Good Friday night, 1923, Archbishop Cieplak was imprisoned in Moscow where it was my further unforgettable privilege to visit him more than once and communicate messages of support and encouragement from the present Sovereign Pontiff to the last Catholic Bishop in Russia. Later several new bishops were consecrated.

One of these, Bishop Sloskan, was imprisoned almost immediately by the Bolsheviks and spent something like eight years in the horrors of Soviet prisons and in those camps of forced labor so graphically described by Professor Tchernavin in his memorable work, "*I Speak for the Silent*" (Hale, Cushman and Flint, N. Y., 1935). In 1934, soon after his release, Bishop Sloskan handed to the

present writer, in Rome, a typewritten manuscript of some 150 pages detailing the years of his imprisonment. This document will rank as one of the historical treasures of Church History, but at the Bishop's request I am not printing it at this time. "*There are a few priests left in Russia,*" he said, "*and the Bolsheviks would take vengeance on them.*"

On that occasion, we sat for hours in the Oriental Institute and checked over the list of Catholic priests in Russia. It was a sombre elimination, this calling the roll of martyrs and confessors: "*Dead,*" "*Insane,*" "*Last heard of in a Siberian prison,*" "*Slowly dying on Solovetsky Island,*" "*Escaped,*" "*In exile.*" After the roll call, Bishop Sloskan concluded that possibly there might be 25 priests still alive and at liberty in Soviet Russia, including Siberia.

The significance of that figure becomes apparent from a few comparative statistics. Within the territorial limits now controlled by the Soviet power, there were, in 1917, the year of the Bolshevik Revolution, 614 Catholic churches in operation; in 1931 only 182 remained. In addition, there were 581 chapels; today not one remains. There were 896 priests; in 1931, 110 were at liberty while 200 languished in Bolshevik prisons. Today (1935) not 25 can be found.¹ The remainder have perished from privation and starvation or have been exiled and executed. In 1917 there were 7 seminaries; today not one remains. There were 8 Bishops; today, of the new hierarchy since created, the present writer knows of only one at liberty—Bishop Neveu of Moscow.

What few shreds of legal protection existed for believers in God in virtue of the first religious laws of 1918 are virtually abolished by the Draconian conditions imposed on those who persist in the "superstition" called religion. Short of collective massacre of those who believe in God, the later decree of April, 1929, was designed to destroy religion root and branch by a network of discriminatory legislation, designed to make its practice impossible and reduce its adherents to ridicule and despair. But there is no limitation to the activities of the subsidized anti-religious propagandist. On the contrary he is encouraged and directed by the State itself. He alone has the franchise of attack. His victim replies or defends himself at his own peril. By a refinement of malicious ingenuity religious believers are forbidden to assist fellow members by giving them material assistance. Works of mercy, charity and medical aid, being thus forbidden to religious groups, and as members can expect neither government nor party assistance so long as they believe in God, the alternatives are clear: apostasy, or else starvation, poverty and death.

On three successive days, April 26, 27, 28, 1929, *Izvestia*, the official Soviet newspaper, reproduced

¹ Cf article "*Ex Umbris et Imaginibus.*"

the text of these decrees. The general tenor of the ordinances reveals a programme whose ultimate purpose is gradual suppression of external worship in order thus to achieve eventual disappearance of religion as a fact. This is a favorite Bolshevik device. First reduce an institution or a person to impotence by throwing a network of obstacles around it; then, in due time, proceed to its physical destruction as something "no longer useful or needed." Article 13 of the Constitution of July, 1918, and Article 4 of the law of May 11, 1925, made ambiguous mention of freedom of conscience and provided equal authorization for "religious propaganda of all cults and anti-religious propaganda." This was at least a semblance of religious toleration. I say "semblance" because as early as 1926 the Commissariat of Justice interpreted what Soviet jurisprudence meant by liberty of conscience. It was explained that the law secured freedom of belief in the subjective but not in the *objective* sense. With characteristic cynicism, and with complete superfluity, officials conceded that the Soviet Government does not hinder any individual from believing whatever he likes, or from not believing in anything at all, so long as his external actions are in conformity with the existing law of the land. but even that last shred of protective legality disappeared in 1929.

The new decree—which also abrogates four other ordinances published between 1921 and 1923—makes no mention of liberty of conscience, of worship, or of religious propaganda. The only guarantee accorded in this field is to anti-religious activities, which alone enjoy governmental favor and unlimited scope. Believers are mentioned only as subjects of penalties, persons to be controlled, limited, segregated by social discrimination, and punished for the slightest infraction of the multitudinous prohibitions leveled against religious practices. The decree registers their existence as a necessary statement of fact. There is no bill of rights for them, but only a catalogue of anticipated crimes. The original, organic law of the land already deprives of all civic rights priests and nuns; the new text includes in that disenfranchisement all lay folk as well who identify themselves with the exercise of religion—such as beadles, charwomen and sweepers of sacred edifices, sextons, choir singers, and deacons.¹

The document requires some six thousand words to weave its suffocating net around those of its prospective victims who persist in religious "superstitions." It prescribes rules governing every phase

of the existence of religious organizations, the method of listing and handling free-will offerings, and the repair of buildings used for religious purposes.

Even the hiring of janitors, the acquisition of wood for fuel, and the repairs of the "prayer building" are covered in the decree. The rules are so drastic as to limit the clergy and teachers to conducting their offices in the territory in which they reside permanently "and which belongs to the particular religious association."

Providing that every citizen may become a member of only one religious-cultural association, the decree defines a religious association as "a local association of believing citizens who have reached the age of eighteen years, of one and the same religion, conviction, or sect, to the number of not less than twenty persons who have associated themselves for the joint satisfaction of their religious needs."

At the outset the decree says flatly that "religious societies and groups of believers do not enjoy the rights of juridical bodies." Thus, being deprived of legal existence, the religious associations are hedged about in the provisions of the decree to the extent of sixty-eight paragraphs.

Religious instruction to anyone under eighteen years of age had already been forbidden, no matter where given. The spirit of the April decree will punish parents who teach their children to recite prayers even in the privacy of the family.

Anti-religious Crusade

The Government, on the other hand, has thrown its full might into an anti-religious crusade which has aroused the indignation and merited the opprobrium of the entire civilized world. Already supreme arbiter of education, master of life and death, who summarily executes without the shadow of trial, sole proprietor of the printing press, dictator of employment, landlord of all lodging, and autocratic distributor of food-cards to those whom it deems "reliable," the Soviet State financed and fostered the Association of the Militant Godless to such an extent that it is reported to have reached 5,000,000 members. These skilled propagandists operating under the direction of the Ministry of Public Instruction, supported by the bayonets of the Red Army and the omnipresent G. P. U., patronized by local Soviets and the Trade Unions, are feverishly engaged in corrupting the soul of the nation, particularly of its children.² During recent years 20,000,000 copies of the paper "*The Godless*" with its unspeakable blasphemies, have been deluged into school, home and kindergarten; 1,300,000 copies of the "*Review of the Godless*" have been printed and 2,000,000 copies of virulent anti-religious publications of a miscellaneous character have been circulated.

Ten thousand anti-religious clubs, protected and

¹ The official text of this decree has been translated and included in the pages immediately following this survey.

² G.P.U. (i.e.) the so-called secret police.

³ On June 19, 1929, this Association contributed to the Government a new aeroplane which was named "The Atheist." Its special function was described in the deed of gift: "to make war on heaven." It cruised over Moscow on the lookout for God.

shielded by the police, spread hooliganism throughout the land; special and abominable films are displayed in hundreds of sacred places now confiscated and turned into clubs, museums or theaters. Special universities have been consecrated exclusively to the War on God, and every teacher in every city, town and hamlet is obliged to coöperate in this hideous campaign under pain of party penalty. As was truly said during the speeches at the Albert Hall, London, on Friday, December 19, 1929, *"To believe in God and to confess it, is heroism today in Soviet Russia."*

The devastating results of these years of militant atheism are now apparent and easy of verification. It is among the young, that is, among those from fourteen to twenty-five years of age, that the program has achieved its most appalling results. Russia has developed a vast multitude of semi-illiterate, corrupt, immoral, uncontrolled, and uncontrollable young men and women, whose highest ideal is to satisfy the cravings of licentious appetite. How could it be otherwise? The atmosphere of crass materialism and positive atheism which envelopes the official—and only—school-system has released the growing generation from obedience to parents or to conscience. When a State deliberately breaks down the barrier of parental and spiritual authority provided by the home and the Church, it is opening a floodgate which no other human power can control. Add to this the influence of Madam Kollontai, with her doctrines of free love, free marriage, and jungle promiscuity, and the demoralizing circle is completed.

Meanwhile, under penalty of imprisonment and possible execution, the law forbids any one to teach the existence of God or the Ten Commandments or the requirements of Christian morality to children and youths under eighteen years of age. Violation of this statute is constantly invoked, whenever a demonstration of Communist power is deemed advisable. In the rare case of a church which has escaped destruction and may happen to be open and functioning it is the simplest of simple matters to assign some zealous young Communist of sixteen or seventeen years to the welcome task of slipping in among the congregation and furnishing evidence. Reading the Gospel of Jesus Christ would be sufficient. Or, a mother in her home, with her children at her knee, is teaching her offspring the Faith of their forefathers. She is denounced by the vigilant and omnipresent Association of the Militant Godless, and may be faced with a dread possibility—either to go to prison for "counter-revolution," or pay a heavy fine, or suffer the moral torture of seeing her children torn from her bosom and placed in a Communist school, where they will be taught the militant atheism of the State at the expense of the parents.

After their eighteenth year you may inculcate

your "superstition," the State concedes; you may then explain to my fiery young Communist that he has an immortal soul, a conscience, a supernatural destiny or moral obligations. You may then attempt to neutralize the hatreds I have poured into his heart from his third year onward. You are welcome then to tame the beast I have trained in the guarded precincts of my State school where there is no God but Lenin. Our young Communist is now able to carry a musket, anyhow, and he knows no other loyalty but to me. He is a personal enemy of Jesus Christ. He is a finished product, a soulless cog in the collective mechanism of my Five Year Plan.

Moscow knows full well what every adult knows. You may as well attempt to control the lion's whelp with a spider's web, quarry granite with a razor's edge, or beguile with attar of roses the nostrils of a tiger that has smelled blood as seek to reason with a generation so trained from tender childhood.

It is against this profanation of the sanctities of life, against this prostitution of innocent childhood and impressionable youth that Pius XI dared, in many pronouncements, to raise his voice in protest before the nations and bow his head in supplication before the altar of the Most High. The Sovereign Pontiff, with the unerring vision of the Shepherd of Christendom, has thus pointed the path and led the way towards unity of action.

The Catholic Church has nineteen centuries behind her and all the future before her. Her duration, by Divine guarantee, is to the end of this world. Hence, she is not pressed for time nor haunted by undue fear. But eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and defence of the supernatural a solemn duty inseparable from her mission. Default of these obligations would indeed imperil her existence. Serenely confident, therefore, of the outcome of this conflict between light and darkness, between justice and iniquity, with malice towards none but with charity to all, our prayers are for the oppressor as well as the oppressed. Before the Soviet Government's continuing invasion of the most sacred human heritage, before its calculated degradation of the soul for the deification of the flesh and in the face of its conspiracy to extend that attack to the entire world, the Catholic Church will not recoil nor retreat nor compromise. She must perish first, if that were possible. And the Society, in the words of Father General, has been called upon to close ranks throughout the world and concentrate its forces against the common enemies of Christianity and civilization. The one is atheism, the other Communism.

Equally important, our concerted prayers, bearing witness to the universality and solidarity of our common Faith, will surely bring some measure of comfort and healing to the bruised spirits of fellow Christians, bound to the chariot wheels of the Moscovite Cæsar. They will soon know.

Catholicism versus Communism

A Prophecy

The following excerpt from an article entitled "Religion for a Scanty Band" (Harpers Magazine, Aug., 1933) is from the pen of a non-Catholic observer. After an analysis of the present state of religion, the writer expresses the opinion that the battle of the future will be waged between the Catholic Church and Communism.

BUT a new and wider battle is preparing. Quietly men are taking sides, preparing ammunition, digging trenches, exploring the ground, bringing up reserves. At any moment a fight may be on.

The first exchange may occur in the sector of the line where Communism squarely faces Catholicism, although hostilities may commence anywhere along the front, over an educational theory, over some economic measure, over a school of literary criticism. A gentlemanly row between the followers of Maritain and Richards might explode the magazine, or an exchange of shots between Whitehead and Dewey might precipitate a general engagement, or Hitler's drastic reform of German Protestantism might begin hostilities. On the eve of war situations which appear very complex rapidly simplify. Men are forced to choose. On the one side lie theories, philosophies, programs, tendencies, habits of action, and social alignments which find their sharpest expression in Communism. On the other side lie theologies, political ideas and institutions, systems of ethics, cultural notions and traditions which are most nicely exhibited in Catholicism. Communism and Catholicism seem to be the protagonists with nationalism holding the middle ground, although once the conflict openly breaks out it will appear that the issue is wider and deeper than a clash between Reds and Clericals. The quarrel of the Vatican with Mussolini, the troubles of Catholicism in Spain and Mexico, the protests of American and English divines over the Bolshevik persecution of religion are only preliminary skirmishes.

The issue is not nearly so clear as either Catholic or Communist propagandists suppose. Communism, at least the less doctrinaire forms of it, does appeal to many religiously minded men, and even in its most orthodox forms arouses an enthusiasm so much like religious fervor that only out of deference to the Communists' use of words can we refrain from calling Communism a religion. Young men with genuine ethical passion, with an appetite for a philosophy of life illuminating æsthetics, ethics, politics, and economics, can hardly expect to escape a touch of Marxian fever. Certainly an increasing number of students who formerly would have found in Christianity an inspiration, a scheme, an outlet for their idealism now find it in Commu-

nism. They glance at Christianity, whether in its Protestant or Catholic guise, and find it unaccommodated to modern thought. They see churches divided, passionless mute on many urgent matters. In their disgust they do not always realize how thoroughly Christianity still permeates Christendom. Communism as the novelty has the same initial advantage that Calvinism once enjoyed. It is definite, logical, challenging, comprehensive; but there are signs that under the challenge of Communism Christendom, if not official Christianity, is stirring.

At bottom the quarrel lies in the value allowed the individual. Christianity has always given the individual a very high place; if "God became Man that man might become divine" then, it follows, mankind and individual men have a noble destiny. This doctrine of the Incarnation explains in large measure why the ethics, the literature, the politics, and the philosophy of Christendom have put upon the individual such a high valuation. The mysteries of Nicene theology, the workings of Anglo-Saxon law, the rise of capitalism and of democracy are connected by a common feeling for the individual—a feeling clean contrary to that which unites scientific materialism with the Soviets.

At the moment the tide appears to be running strongly against the general tradition of Christendom. Certainly the present mood opposes the kind of individualism fostered by Protestantism and by political liberalism. The trend is toward social control, toward a higher estimation of the group, whether of class or of nation. Traditional Protestantism may be bankrupt, but the fortunes of Christianity are not entirely invested in Protestantism. The Catholic tradition—and much that is Catholic lingers waiting to be revived in Protestant circles—has a view of society which occupies a genuinely mediating position between extreme individualism and extreme socialism. In the Catholic tradition both Church and State are given great authority. Their functions are of supreme importance, nevertheless a due recognition of the nature and rights of the heavenly and the earthly societies is not allowed to obscure the position nor to minimize the worth of the individual soul. Scholars and thinkers with little regard for Catholicism as a religion are increasingly interested in the kind of relationship

developed in the Catholic tradition between the individual and society, both ecclesiastical and civil. In this connection the name of Mr. Tawney comes to mind; but whenever the problem of the individual's relation to society is discussed students are inclined to reappraise traditional solutions very sympathetically.

I do not mean to suggest that we shall see a wholesale capitulation to ultramontane Catholicism; only that there will be a serious reconsideration of much that our forefathers contemptuously rejected and that the coming reconstruction of religion will approximate a restoration of the old.

But no reconstruction of religion can be made without a plan. The time for tinkering is past. If it were merely a matter of patching up Protestantism or Catholicism it would be enough to follow almost without thought the systematic plans upon which Protestantism and Catholicism are built. But even if repairs were possible the plans themselves have been mislaid. Very few know, still fewer appreciate the architecture of orthodoxy. Even the clergy would find it difficult to elucidate in detail the theology which frames and supports their church. They are now being forced either to a rediscovery, a new appreciation of the old theology, as in Barthianism and Neo-Scholasticism, or to a new theology.

Either way will come, indeed is already coming, a revival of interest in theology as queen of the sciences.

About ten years ago I heard students comment on a talk by Von Hugel, the Catholic theologian. They were rather impatient at his theological distinctions and aims though captivated by his spirit. To-day many students show the keenest interest in

theological matters. Ideas, they are coming to recognize, have power. Ideas no doubt grow out of and are nourished by the environment, including in that word environment the tradition of the past and present circumstances in our political and social life; but ideas are also capable of changing the environment and of altering institutions. Without an ideology Communism would be a clumsy device to express the felt but unformulated desires of the masses. Without a theology Christianity is merely the sentimental blathering of kindly souls. Communism is militant because it has an ideology. In spite of the Report on *Re-thinking Missions*, Christianity can be missionary only if it has a theology. At least among students religion wears once again a theological dress.

We may then quite confidently declare that religion among the educated is already entering upon a brief period of reaction. Traditional dogmas, traditional practices, and time-honored institutions will experience at least a brief revival. New wine is being poured into old bottles. If, as is probable, they fail to stretch, the wine will find new containers. We may also be sure that the present confusion, intellectual, political and ethical, in which the modern world has wandered for a generation will soon begin to clear. The molten mass is crystallizing out. Existing tensions will increase, converge, and finally reveal fairly clear antitheses. I doubt whether religious minds will be found wholly on one side or on the other, but I have no doubt at all that in fifty years' time whatever of religion remains in the universities will be profoundly affected by conflict and by contact with those tendencies which now find their most dramatic exhibition in Russia.

COMMENT ON THE ABOVE

The editor of this collection can confirm the belief expressed respecting the predicted clash between Bolshevism and Catholicism. More than once the Moscow newspapers and spokesmen have said that there are two Internationals,—the Red and the Black, the latter being the Catholic Church. The Bolshevik fears any organized group, particularly of a spiritual composition. For that reason, one of his first concerns in every revolution will be to destroy the Catholic Church. In the preliminary stages of undercover activity, he will use the freethinkers, radical intellectuals and "liberals" to do the spade work.

Religion in Soviet Russia, 1934-1935

The preceding article and the authentic text of the prevailing laws furnish a background of understanding. In order to bring our information up to 1935 the following reports will be found valuable. They are from the pen of the New York Times correspondent in Soviet Russia and reflect the viewpoint of a secular observer to whom the religious conflict is a news item, not a moral issue.

By HAROLD DENNY

New York Times, November 18, 1934

Russian Atheists Renew Campaign

MOSCOW, Nov. 17.—On the ground that anti-religious work has slackened of late and religious organizations are increasing their efforts in the Soviet Union, the executive committee of the League of Militant Atheists issued a call today for a "Christmas campaign" against religion. It will last for two months, beginning November 25.

The whole Soviet network for influencing thought—the Young Communist organization, trade unions, agricultural advisers, village teachers and the movies, radio, press and clubs—must be mobilized to push back the rising tide of worship, according to today's announcement.

To Order Work on Holidays

These agencies were ordered to try to prevent workers and collective farm members from absenting themselves from work on religious holidays and to do missionary work among believers, explaining to them the success of Socialist construction and Soviet achievements in science and technique.

At the same time they are to "reveal by means of concrete local instances the reactionary and anti-scientific character of religion and the class meaning of religious holidays and to expose the rôle of religion in the preparation of a capitalistic war against the Soviet Union."

Reports to the central headquarters of the militant atheists, as well as ordinary observation, indicate that there is some reason for the atheist league's disquietude. For instance, word comes that school children in the Ivanovo district, a few hours east of Moscow, are collecting money from collective farm workers for a priest, and similar incidents have occurred elsewhere.

Religious sentiment is especially strong in the villages clustering around the ancient city of Vladimir in the Ivanovo region, which was a holy centre from the time of its founding in the twelfth century up to the revolution. Communists also report the revival of religion along the headwaters of the Volga not far from Moscow.

In one district a pacifist sect of evangelical Christians, which the Communist party terms counter-

revolutionary, has been agitating against defending the Soviet Union if it is attacked from without. In one village another religious sect is reported to have inspired thirty-five individual peasants to refrain from joining collectives and also to have hindered fulfillment of the harvest schedule.

In many villages not only are there no actively professing atheists but Communist party members are winking at the practice of religion or even engaging in it. The newspaper Pravda, Communist party spokesman, noted indignantly today that a priest in one village had reported that the chairman of the village Soviet there had violated party principles by burying his mother with religious rites. Pravda thought things had come to a pretty pass when a priest had to report on infringements of party discipline.

Indeed, religion is dying hard in Russia. Most churches, of course, have been turned into anti-religious museums, movie theatres or warehouses, or simply abandoned, and many have been demolished. Those which remain, however, are frequently crowded with worshipers, usually of the older generations.

In village churches today one can still find old women going about laboriously kissing every ikon within reach, while gray-bearded priests in rusty robes glide sadly about. In a village that the writer has seen there was a whole corner of ikons in the house where the chairman of the village Soviet roomed.

Recently, in his own apartment, the writer missed a lovely ikon that he had on the wall as a decoration. On entering the kitchen later he found it there. His old cook had made it the centre of a little shrine.

Former Nun's Election Scored

By the Associated Press

MOSCOW, Nov. 17.—The election of a former nun named Alexandra Molokova to the city Soviet of Troitzk, in the Cheliabinsk district of the Urals, brought a loud editorial protest today from the official newspaper Izvestia.

The paper charged that Communist party direction had been poorly organized in handling the election and had failed to check Kulak influences.

Slowly Religion is Starving in Russia

The Soviet Deprives the Church Both of Material Support and of Youth to Replenish Its Dying Flock.

By HAROLD DENNY

New York Times Magazine, May 12, 1935.

Moscow.

WHEN on Russia's Easter Eve 75,000 people flocked to the churches of Moscow, the casual visitor might well have thought that religion was holding its ground in this land of anti-Christ. Seventeen years after a revolution, based on a philosophy that abhors religion, had dispossessed the State church and scattered its congregations, religion could be seen clinging tenaciously to its traditional forms.

There were, as of old, the priests, slightly unkempt, perhaps, but wearing gorgeous brocaded vestments and pearl-encrusted mitres, swinging censers and intoning the ancient slavonic chants. There was the symbolic pageantry of resurrection; there was the thrilling response of worshipers to the cry, "Jesus Christ Is Risen," which Russians have given almost since the days of St. Vladimir. Only one note was missing—the chiming at midnight of Moscow's myriad bells, on signal from the lofty tower of Ivan Valiki in the Kremlin. Revolution had stilled those bells.

But it is a starved specter that still drags on. Only about thirty-five of the 450 churches, whose bulging towers once floated over the sacred capital of Old Russia, are left—that was one reason for the overflowing on Easter Eve. Moreover, it was the stirring of a deeply rooted tradition as much as of actual religion which drew many of the 75,000 to worship. For religion is dying in Russia, and the sacrament one saw that drizzly night was of extreme unction rather than of resurrection.

A middle-aged peasant woman in a remote Ukrainian village gave perhaps as true and succinct a definition as any one can of the present status of religion in Soviet Russia. She was a lively, intelligent woman. Her home, a whitewashed hut of three rooms, was clean and decently furnished. She was neither Communist nor anti-Communist—just one of the many millions in Russia whose concern is daily bread, not politics. In one of her rooms lived the president of the village Soviet. One corner of this room was studded with pictures of Marx, Lenin, Stalin and other notables of communism.

In the family living room, where the writer found shelter one night during a tour of the agricultural regions, a corner was covered with pictures of a different sort—row on row of ikons portraying

Christ, the Madonna and the saints of the Orthodox Church in golden headgear. They were in heavy gilt frames and in them must have been invested the family savings of years.

"The young people don't seem to care any more for God and the church," the housewife volunteered, "but I was brought up in religion and as long as I live those ikons will stay in my home." And it must be like that in thousands of other humble homes.

But the way things are going is easily discernible. Only a few years ago the retreating remnants of the once powerful Orthodox Church was fighting openly against the assaults of atheistic communism; today religion is passing with hardly a visible struggle. It is dying because the older generations who were nurtured in its tenets are dying, and the Communist-controlled State is taking good care that the generations which will replace them are nurtured in atheism.

Youths now in their 'teens and twenties, brought up under a régime which inculcates atheism with the same zeal and by fundamentally the same methods as those employed by the church in the inculcation of religion, are definitely anti-religious. They think of the vanishing church—when they think of it at all—only as a capitalist mechanism for exploiting the masses.

It is true that even in the younger generation one still finds religion. In the Russian Christmas Eve celebration in Moscow last January many youths were among the worshipers thronging the remaining churches of the Communist capital. Probably most of them were there in deference to their parents—crushed, drab relicts of an abolished order—kissing ikons and burning candles at the shrines of their saints with every air of devotion.

But the young who are devout are hopelessly outnumbered in a society which has made religion unfashionable—even branded it as contemptible and shameful.

Though the church is dying in Russia, no longer is the Bolshevik régime trying to kill it by violence. One hears no more of pitched battles in villages between Communists and religious adherents, such as marked the early stages of the struggle for the collectivization of the farms. The Soviet régime is more subtle now; it is allowing the church to perish quietly by depriving it both of material sustenance

and of the youth who would replace its vanishing elders.

A principle of the Soviet régime, formally inscribed in the country's laws, is absolute religious freedom. The decree of January 23, 1918, disestablishing the Greek Orthodox Church after centuries of dominance, provided among other things:

Every citizen is free to profess any religion, or none at all, if he so wishes. All disfranchisements connected with professing one or another religion, or non-profession of faith, are countermanded. * * * A free performance of religious rites is guaranteed in so far as it does not molest the public peace and does not infringe upon the rights of the citizens of the Soviet Republic.¹

To a large extent this decree is being fulfilled now, though it has been violently disregarded in the past. Not only have the bells of Moscow's "forty times forty churches" been stilled. Thousands upon thousands of churches, monasteries, synagogues and mosques from end to end of this vast land have been closed. Hundreds of them have been pulled down, or, like bizarre St. Basil's in Moscow and grandiose St. Isaac's in Leningrad, have been made to shelter anti-religious museums beneath their gaudy towers. Many have become moving-picture theatres or warehouses or simply stand forlorn and empty. In past years bonfires have been built of ikons. Bells have been melted up "to aid heavy industry." Priests and rabbis have been imprisoned and some were even put to death in the early days of the revolution.

Yet in the churches that remain in Moscow regular services are held today without government interference and, as at Easter, priests in golden crowns and brocaded vestments—ghostly anachronisms in the new Russia—swing their censers; the faithful still kneel before holy images. In villages, where almost the entire population are now members of collective farms, a traveler finds churches and worshippers.

The last outburst of forcible coercion was in 1930, when the campaign for collectivization of agriculture and the liquidation of the kulaks became also a drive against the church on the ground that the church was encouraging the peasants' resistance—as no doubt it was. The League of Militant Atheists launched a "five-year plan of godlessness" with parades and demonstrations. There was a wave of church-closing and ikon-burning.

The excesses of that period evoked indignation of the religious world outside Russia. Prayer meetings were held in Catholic, Protestant and Jewish organizations. Pope Pius himself conducted a mass in St. Peter's, which caused a group in Leningrad to retort that "the day is coming when the world's godless

workers will turn your Vatican into a museum."

Then suddenly the Soviet authorities saw that things had gone too far. They ordered an end to the forcible closing of churches and punished village Communists who jeered at peasants practicing their religion. Emelyan Yaroslavsky, chairman of the atheists' league, laid down the policy which is now official—that religion shall be removed from the hearts of the people by persuasion and propaganda.

"We must not strive for big figures in the number of closed churches, but rather for progressive conversion of the peasants and workers into atheists by rational scientific and enlightened work," said Yaroslavsky. "We must first make atheists of the peasants. Then the peasants will close the churches themselves."

Under Yaroslavsky's inspiration especial attention is given to atheistic missionary work among women and children. As to the latter, he advised: "Games, play, books and all activities of children must be permeated with atheistic and materialistic principles." And they are.

While the Soviet Government is on record as guaranteeing religious freedom, religion is anathema to the Communist party, which completely controls the State. Marx, and Lenin after him, believed and preached that modern religion was embedded in the social oppression of the working masses and was an instrument for their exploitation.

The Bolshevik government disestablished the church at the same time that it guaranteed religious freedom. With this action came the nationalization of church property, the separation of education and the church, the forbidding of religious instruction in schools, and many other restrictions. By the Soviet Constitution ministers of religion were disfranchised and catalogued as performers of "non-productive work."

Thus overnight a religious establishment, enormously rich and powerful, was stripped of everything. According to Soviet estimates, the Orthodox Church owned 6,500,000 acres of land and much other property. Its membership numbered about 100,000,000 and there were 105,000 priests and 68,000 monks and nuns. Besides the income from its properties and innumerable fees, the church received from the Czarist government 60,000,000 rubles a year in subsidies. All its riches were taken away and now the dwindling congregations use the church buildings, which belong to the State, without charge but on sufferance.

The work of removing what religion remains is in the hands of the League of Militant Atheists, with its more than 5,000,000 members. Though it is not an official unit of the government or of the Communist party, the league carries out the dicta of the party, and makes use of the party's youth and children's organizations, the League of Young Communists and the Young Pioneers.

¹ The writer omits mention of the later decree of 1929 already discussed in the previous article by Edmund Walsh. The reader will detect several other errors which may be corrected by reference to the preceding data. This news item is reproduced as proof that persecution has not ceased.

Russian Hospitality

A Bishop in Chains—by JOHN A. TOOMEY, S.J. *In "America"*

IN 1923 every priest in Leningrad was arrested and transported to Moscow. Father Matulionis was a prisoner at the bar in the famous trial with Bishop Cieplak and the martyred Monsignor Budkiewicz, and was sentenced to three years in the Moscow jail. The programme there included a piece of black bread and warm water in the morning; pseudo-soup, spoiled fish, no meat, rarely a potato at noon. At night the management turned on the black bread and bogus soup again. Two years of this and he was back in Leningrad once more, where, harassed day and night, he gained a four-year experimental knowledge of what the life of the early Christians under Nero was like. In February, 1929, he was consecrated Bishop by Bishop Malecki of Leningrad, with the title of Matrega, and in the same year, November 12, 1929, with many priests, he fell once more into the loving hands of the OGPU. To one priest, famed as a singer, the Marxmen said: "You are a fine singer and as a singer useful. But you are also a priest, and as a priest you are an enemy of the State. We must get rid of you."

One morning a long string of box cars pulled out of Leningrad. Packed like cattle into one of them were Bishop Matulionis and thirty-five priests. An even temperature was maintained in the box car ranging from about twenty or thirty below all the way up to zero, so that at no time was it stuffy. Instead wintry blasts bit into the huddled group as the clumsy freight lurched towards Solovetsky Island. Brutal guards cursed and kicked them. Bishop Matulionis suffered a protracted agony during the journey. Excruciating pains shooting through his legs were intensified by the zero breezes, the jolting cars, the kicking, cursing guards. It was Josef Stalin's New Russia.

Solovetsky Island, 500 miles due north of Leningrad, is a grim, forbidding prison isle, populated by trained dogs, guards, and hapless prisoners. In a house skirting the White Sea, the Bishop and thirty-five to forty priests were herded into one small room. Two tiers of shelves were the beds. Clothes, breviaries, rosaries, medals, everything was taken from them and they were all dressed in coarse prison raiment. (Five breviaries and a few missals were somehow held out and all the priests managed to recite their Office every day.) The priests were segregated lest they contaminate the other prisoners. One of the Fathers revealed an unsuspected genius for fashioning chalices and patens out of tin cans. Flour on a heated tumbler grew into altar bread, and wine was made from raisins sent by relatives. On pieces of paper the

Fathers copied out the Mass for the Dead, and this was said on all ordinary days. On the great feasts, like Easter or Christmas, they hauled out the little missals and copied the Easter or Christmas Mass. Up at the top of the building was an attic used for storing baggage. About midnight, a priest would station himself outside the building to signal if a guard approached, while five priests ascended to the attic and began Mass. Just two or three drops of wine were poured into the chalices. At the second ablution no wine at all was used, only water. Thirty-five to forty times every night little tin chalices containing the Blood of Christ were lifted up in the crude attic by the White Sea.

Before the sun rose, the bishop and priests surrounded by dogs and guards, marched five miles through snow up to their waists to the day's work in the woods. There they chopped, sawed, hauled huge loads of logs. Catholic prisoners frequently crept furtively near the bishop or a priest and made a hurried confession. Not infrequently Holy Communion was conveyed surreptitiously to Catholic captives. After a long day of toil in the woods, the bishop and priests were paraded back to enjoy some dark bread and pale soup. For one year and nine months the bishop was subjected to this cruel régime. His heart began to go. His legs became enormously swollen. He had weak spells in the woods. Each day he thought death would come. But instead guards came, put him on another freight train bound for the Leningrad prison, where he spent a year and where he would probably be to-day had not the Lithuanian Government interceded and obtained his liberation. He was ejected from Russia, spent a year in Lithuania, and on his way to this country (America) enjoyed a long interview with the Holy Father, who evinced profound interest in his case.

Is the bishop rejoiced to be free, away from Russia, eating food, with nobody kicking or cursing him, walking around New York, Chicago, without any harness strapped on him, sleeping in bedrooms, watching freight cars from passenger-coach windows? It sounds a lot better, but—well, I asked him, and somehow he just isn't. You see, there is only one priest in all Siberia now. Only a handful left in all Russia. They need priests, bishops, so badly. The front line trenches are a bit uncomfortable and dangerous, yes, but the souls, the souls by the millions he might help! And also there's another reason. As far as I could make it out, it seems that God is very near to you if you are a Bishop, in a freezing forest, tied to a load of wood for Christ's sake.

Is There a Crisis in Soviet Militant Atheism?

The subjoined excellent review of current conditions in Soviet Russia has been translated from "La Civiltà Cattolica" for March 16, 1935. The article derives from a conference delivered in the Pontifical Institute for Oriental Studies, Rome, by Reverend Joseph Ledit, S.J., who has been named by Fr. General as head of the Central Bureau of Information for these matters in Rome.

IF THE attitude of the Soviets toward religion is changing, it will be a change in "tactics" only, since theirs is a "militant" atheism. But that there is a certain notable change and an evolution, indicative of a crisis, may be gathered from Soviet sources.

Worthy of particular comment is the contrast in the atheistic literature of today in the U.S.S.R. with that of a few years ago. Let us take as example, the newspaper *Bezbozhnik* (Godless), a weekly more or less, distinct from a monthly periodical of the same name. The paper in 1928 had a circulation of 63,131 copies, which grew to 150,000 copies in 1929, at the end of which year the era of forced collectivization began. It grew to 325,000 copies in 1930, and at the end of that year reached 400,000. It was the year 1930, notorious for the unheard-of violence of collectivization, for the imprisonment of so many of the clergy and the faithful, and for those growing insolences of Bolshevik blasphemies, which provoked the letter of the Holy Father to Cardinal Pompili, Vicar of Rome. Then there broke loose a furious campaign against the Holy Father, during which *Bezbozhnik* doubled the number of its pages from four to eight and began to be published six times a month. Throughout 1931 it continued to increase its circulation until half a million copies were printed for the issue of December 25, 1931. The paper still appeared six times a month, but it had already been reduced to four pages per issue.

In 1934 it did not appear more than three times a month, in four pages, and it no longer indicated the number of copies. It would now appear that it has been reduced to about a third the number of copies of the 1930 and 1931 editions.

This reduction is more noticeable in the "scientific" periodical of the Central Soviet of the Militant Atheists, *Anti-religiosnik*. In 1931 it was a monthly of 128 pages with a circulation of 31,500 copies. The falling off became evident in 1932, during which year it began to be published twice a month, but in 64 pages. During the month of July it again became a monthly keeping to 64 pages, hence half the size of the preceding year. Before the end of 1932 the number of copies had fallen to 20,250 and the paper

was very mediocre. In 1934 the periodical's condition became even worse. At the beginning of the year it fell to 13,000 copies of 48 pages each and was published every two months. The July-August issue had a circulation of 11,700 copies, that of September-October 11,580, and that of November-December 12,000. Hence the Bolshevik periodical press of militant atheism is manifestly on the decline.

Let us consider now the organizations of the Godless or Militant Atheists. It seems that at present the organization is reduced to almost half the number of 5,673,000 militant atheists given in the statistics of May 15, 1932. Since then no other statistics have been published. It seems that other statistics will be gathered for 1935, the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the Union of Militant Atheists. We must await the results. Meanwhile, the *Bezbozhnik* of January 29, 1934, complained that in seventy districts the anti-religious soviets were dissolved and their directors had devoted themselves to other work. In November of the same year, the organ of the Godless carried the following item: The local soviet of the Militant Atheists was convinced that it controlled a whole district of cells in the town of Kovrov, but was disillusioned when it received a letter from the president of that district which said: "Neither in the city nor in its environs does there exist a single cell. In the whole district there is only one organized atheist, and I am he!"

* * * * *

Let us seek the causes of this decline. In 1930 the Association of Militant Atheists enjoyed the greatest support of the government, especially of the G.P.U.¹ It is well known that the Godless protest with loud cries that they are a society independent of the State, whose members freely joined because of conviction, and that the *popi* lie when they identify them with the Soviet power.

It is true enough that the Union of Militant Atheists is not an administrative organ; but their supreme influence on the organs of the State is also an evident fact, especially on the Commissariat of

¹ Gosudarstvennoe Politicescoe Upravlenie: State Political Police.

Public Instruction, the Central Vigilance Commission and the G.P.U. All those who have had an opportunity of speaking to any of the heroic confessors of the Faith, freed through a merciful Providence from Solovki Island and brought to Rome, have received ample proof that these confessors are persecuted by the G.P.U. solely because of religious motives. It was the Militant Atheists who caused the imprisonment and deportation of the clergy, the closing of the churches and the profaning of the sanctuaries. But their work, though encouraged and supported by the State, began to be somewhat indiscreet and bothersome. Stalin, under the pressure of the protests raised in 1930 by the Pope's letter to the Cardinal Vicar, ordered his Militants to lower their tone. They had become an internal nuisance and an external embarrassment.

Internally, their continuous activity became oppressive to the workers, already wearied by the fevered and frenzied task of the "Five Year Plan." The *Udarniki* ("shock workers" or "the valiant") toiled sixteen, seventeen, and even eighteen hours a day under frightful conditions. After such a workday it became unbearable for these poor people, tired and hungry, to have to listen to some pedant or other zealot give them a conference on the necessity of fighting religion and listen to his insipid aspersions on the Pope.

Under the anxiety of pushing ahead the work and avoiding the shame of being known as a "retarder" or even of losing their positions and being set to a concentration camp on a charge of "sabotage," the heads of the factories resented the troublesome interference of the Godless. With their methods of informing and intimidation they had become *personae non gratae*. On the other hand, the violent collectivization with its bloody repression relegated to second place the madness of the Militant Atheists. Then the leaders of the party, Stalin, Molotov and others, convinced that atheism would be automatically established with the fact of collectivization, lost their enthusiasm for inopportune, noisy demonstrations, realizing that it would be much easier to suppress religion quietly by administrative acts and the suppression of the clergy.

Furthermore, the Godless became still more of a bother externally. The protests aroused by the Pope's letter even in America endangered the political and economic plans of Stalin who wished to conciliate American public opinion. Finally a third reason—perhaps the most decisive—was the fall from power of the head of the Militant Atheists, the Jew Gubelmann, better known by his *nome de plume et de guerre*, Emilian Jaroslavsky. This is how it happened.

It is well known that the U.S.S.R. pretends to be a federation of republics of peasants and workers. In fact, it is a great mass of helpless human beings

organized under a regime which poses as the incarnation of the doctrines of Karl Marx, interpreted successively by Engels, Lenin and Stalin. More even than Lenin, Stalin is a doctrinaire who imposes his doctrines with a severity that brooks no contradiction. All the other intellectuals of the party, Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Tomskey, Rykov, Lunacharsky, are considered more or less heterodox, and have been suppressed by the so-called proletarian "self-criticism!"

With the growth of the Militant Atheists, their leader Jaroslavsky became one of the most important personages in the U.S.S.R. The leader of five million and a half followers who see in him the supreme pontiff of a new atheistic religion could not but be displeasing to the Dictator. Jaroslavsky, although he had not even finished the second class of the gymnasium, imagined that he had become one of the intellectuals of the party. His works were translated into various languages, and a professor of the Sorbonne, the liberal thinker Renato Martel, called him "Professor Jaroslavsky."

In collaboration with others, Jaroslavsky compiled a history of the Communist Party in four volumes. Stalin did not neglect to skim through these volumes and found some heresies! In an article published in the "Proletarian Revolution" (No. 6, 1931) Stalin concluded: "Some of our Bolshevik historians are not exempt from the errors which carry water to the mill of Slutski and Volosevich. The Jaroslavsky group is certainly no exception: its books on the history of the Pan-Russian Communist Party, despite their merits, contain several basic and historical errors."

This was enough to throw Jaroslavsky into a panic, and he quickly sent to *Pravda* (December 10, 1931) a letter of confession and of full and entire submission. He admitted that "in the four volumes of the history of the Communist Party (of which he was the principal editor) there were several grave errors which demanded severe criticism and immediate correction." After consuming three columns of the paper in enumerating his "grave errors," he added: "I think it necessary to acknowledge that there are still other substantial errors connected with the preceding." He humbly begged his collaborators to help him discover and correct them.

But this was not all. Ten days after, on the twentieth of December, the unhappy man was haled before the terrible Central Vigilance Commission of the Party, of which commission he himself had for a long time been the faithful secretary. Thus this Bolshevik of long standing, member of the Party since 1898, famous for the bloody excesses he perpetrated in the city of Jaroslav during the revolution of 1905, member of the Central Committee of the Party since 1921, secretary of the Vigilance Commission since 1923, a servant of Stalin in his com-

bats against Zinoviev, Trotsky, Rykov, Bucharin and others—after having preached for so many years in his *Bezbozhnik* and in his lectures that humility, patience, forgiveness of injuries were incompatible with the revolutionary spirit—that these were bourgeois virtues to be proscribed, mocked and ridiculed—found himself obliged to become the most conspicuous example of them all before the whole Party and in the sight of all the Godless! He kissed the hand that struck him and managed, for good or ill, to maintain himself on the Vigilance Commission.

* * * * *

All this was a damaging blow to the Union of Militant Atheists, which lost much of its influence after the partial disgrace of its leader. But this is no reason for assuming any conversion in the party. The Communist Party is essentially atheistic; but one can be an atheist in two different ways. One side holds that the establishment of atheism can be assured by banishing the majority of priests (leaving a few for the eyes of visitors), by closing the churches, abolishing the Sabbath, strengthening anti-religious teaching and smothering every opposing voice. This at present is the attitude of the majority of the leaders. The Militant Atheists, however, desire more than this: to multiply anti-religious films, conferences and demonstrations, to pursue the least sign of religious life to its total destruction. One group throttles religion in silence; the other wishes to decapitate it in the public square.

The two mentalities become clear from a comparison of the anti-religious passages of the speeches of Stalin and Jaroslavsky in the XVII Congress of the Communist Party (January-February, 1934). Stalin, speaking of the changes in the U.S.S.R. after 1930, the year of violent collectivization, said: "The aspect of the village is even more changed. The old village with its church in full view and with the better homes of the prefect of the police, of the *pope* and of the *kulak* (rich peasant) has begun to disappear. In its place is established the new village, with its communal edifices, clubs, radio, cinema, libraries, tractors, agricultural implements, automobiles, homes for infants. The old figures of the grasping *kulak*, the bloody usurer, the *pope-police-man*, the speculating merchant, have disappeared."

One might ask Stalin, at this point, how far his imagination has contributed to this description of a village under the "five year plan." There would be much to say on the present state of the Russian village with the church changed to a club, or into a store, or into an anti-religious museum; with the best dwellings for the secretary of the Party and for other officers of the regime; there are those other characters, too, anything but agreeable, the brigadier who demands the grain "even to the last kilogram," the member of the Militant Godless who sends to his paper the names of those who still keep

an ikon in their homes, the agent of the G.P.U. (now known as the agent for the Minister of the Interior) and his innumerable spies, the mere sight of whom is enough to terrify the peasants. . . .

Passing over all this, we note that, according to Stalin, atheism must be introduced by its own weight, automatically, as it were, with "socialist construction." It is very significant that the Bolshevik dictator did not think it opportune to enlarge at any length on positive anti-religious efforts in his speech. The secretary of the Moscow party, Kaganovich, the second personage in the U.S.S.R., holds to the same policy. On the contrary, Jaroslavsky was the only one to inveigh directly against religion: "An enemy," he said, "not yet abolished from the working classes and from the mass of workers is religion. It is true enough that in our struggle against the religious ideology we have achieved important results. The party, the Comsomol (Communist Youth) and the Union of Militant Atheists have won a great victory. But it would be wrong to rest, thinking we have done away with religion." There is more in this same tone. But his long anti-religious tirade was not applauded. It was apparent that the Union of Militant Atheists was on the downgrade.

The organ of the Godless reflected this decline, reporting at the beginning of 1934 complaints of the Militants on the negligence and irregularity of the delivery of the paper to villages and factories. To free themselves from its annoying interference, the heads of enterprises, secretaries of the party and presidents of factory committees, profited from the decline of the Godless by neglecting the directions of the Militant Atheists and declaring anti-religious work useless under the pretext that there were no longer any believers in their factories and districts.

Bezbozhnik of January 29, 1934 (during the Soviet Congress) reported: "The president of the Soviets of the Leon Tolstoi district wrote in an official letter to the Regional Soviet of the syndicates: 'In the Leon Tolstoi district there are no longer any believers, hence there is no anti-religious propaganda.' Morozov, secretary of the committee of Orel, city and district, reports the same: 'Anti-religious work is useless.' The secretariat of Talovia writes that there are more important things than anti-religious work. . . . The president of the Kalinin factory, Bredikhin, has forbidden anti-religious conferences. . . . The president of the Stalin factory 'has sent to the devil the instructor of the soviet of the Union of Militant Atheists of the city.' The bakers' committee has seven times forbidden anti-religious conferences."

In fine, all these groups, to use the vigorous expression of the president of the committee of the Stalin factory, consigned the Militant Atheists to the devil.

Taking advantage of this weariness, or rather

of the looseness and indifference which follow great efforts, religion is beginning to reappear, timid and modest at first, like a tender flower after a violent storm. Here and there, children of schools in which the smothering of religious sentiment was unsuccessful, are seeking out that most abandoned being in all Russia, the priest, whom the law has stripped of everything—even his food. In more than a few places ikons re-appear. Jaroslavsky himself tells us as much. He reports that in many an *isba* (those peasant homes which Stalin claimed had disappeared) there is, it is true, a Lenin's corner with the portraits of Communist heroes; but there is also a corner of the ikons. What is still more singular: the Communists of a village of Moldavia gathered at the communal house to undertake the "purification" of the party, begin with chanting the invocation: "Save, O Lord, thy people, and bless Thine inheritance"! During the drought in the summer of 1934, in the very *kolkhoz* (collective "factories," established by the Communists for the very purpose of eradicating religion from the heart of the Russian peasants) the people were frequently seen searching for a priest and organizing a procession with images and standards to implore the blessing of God on the Socialist crop!

Still more surprising is the fact that on April 27 (14), Sergius, Metropolitan of Gorki (as old Nizhni Novgorod is now called) was solemnly proclaimed Metropolitan of Moscow, and five days afterwards, on May 2, at the *Sobor* (cathedral) of the Annunciation, the ecclesiastical center of orthodox Russia, a solemn celebration was held which re-united 20 bishops, 44 priests and 15 deacons. It must be noted, however, that the Metropolitan Sergius in 1930 had given eloquent proofs of his fidelity to the Soviet government.

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However, since the Spring of 1934, one discovers in *Bezbozhnik* a more aggressive and impudent attitude. The caricatures, which have always been the great storehouse of propaganda for the semi-literate Godless, became dirtier as they grew more stupid. The tone is more intransigent and the denunciations more whining. At the same time the effort of the Godless in atheistic education is more noticeable.

In the single province of the Middle Volga, the 818 anti-religious study circles, the 11 anti-religious seminaries, the one anti-religious university for workers, another for children and a third itinerant university, with their total enrollment of 21,847 in January, 1934, had increased to 1,027 circles, 22 seminaries, with 32,631 enrolled, in March of the same year. An anti-religious museum with 18 co-workers has been established, and a central bureau of a hundred lecturers (professors and school-teachers). These intellectual workers have pledged themselves to give 50,000 hours of anti-religious

work. It does not seem, however, that these 50,000 hours are appealing to the workers of the Middle Volga, since *Bezbozhnik* often exhorts its "brain workers" to treat their arguments in a manner that will interest their auditors.

But again weariness is manifest. *Bezbozhnik* of June 17 sadly notes: "We must do all in our power to better the quality of anti-religious work. We are obliged to this by the decree of the Central Committee of the Party. Let us examine whether the 'Universities' actually live up to their name. Do they deserve to be so called? We have found the answer in the case of Universities for Children, by suppressing them. Let us strive to better the work in the anti-religious circles, and let us be more select in the choice of directors. Let us simplify the theoretical part of the conferences, of the lectures and lessons."

This confession in the official organ of the Godless gives us a measure by which we can discount the grandiloquent statistics flaunted by the Kaganovich group in its speech at the Congress of January-February. "From 1929 to 1933 we have opened 35,000 primary and secondary schools, 2,000 factory schools, 1,000 working faculties (the famous *Rab-faki*), 2,500 technical schools, about 500 universities, 400 institutes for scientific research, 23,000 clubs, and about 20,000 new cinemas. The number of university students has grown to 491,000, and those in technical schools to 672,000."

Nevertheless, even if the 58 anti-religious universities which flourished in the U.S.S.R. at the beginning of 1934 are, in point of fact, no better than mediocre secondary schools, there is certainly a noteworthy increase in the intellectual attack, much more pernicious than the crude demonstrations in the streets.

During 1934, several local organizations of the Communist Party and even some organs of the same Central Government—especially the Commissariat of Public Instruction presided over by Bubnov—devoted themselves with more zeal to the promotion of anti-religious propaganda. From the tenth to the fourteenth of August there was held at Moscow the Pan-Soviet Congress of Pedagogues, convened by the Commissariat of Public Instruction, by the Central Soviet of the Union of Militant Atheists, and by the Executive Committee of the Teaching Workers. Complaints were made that the anti-religious work in the schools had been retarded, that religious influence had proportionately increased among the students, and that there was not even an elementary manual to guide the anti-religious work among children. The Commissariat of Public Instruction then took the matter into its own hands. A circular of November 17, 1934, after bringing up again in strong terms the decline in anti-religious work in the schools, laid down the five following instructions as remedy for the situation:

"1. To force regional inspectors, urban and rural, to examine attentively the question of anti-religious work in and out of the classroom, and to give the teachers the necessary help in a practical and methodical manner.

"2. The regional pedagogical newspapers must treat of the anti-religious work in the schools of their district, and publicize the best plans and the best results.

"3. In the scholastic manuals of the district there must be introduced a certain amount of anti-religious matter strictly connected with the scientific conditions of the district and explained in a lively, clear and persuasive style.

"4. To furnish schools with such publications as the teachers need, whether they be edited from the center (Moscow) or published according to the directions of the Commissariat of Public Instruction and the Central Union of Militant Atheists.

"5. To persuade the schools of the necessity of methodically and organically promoting scholastic cells of the Militant Atheists."

This circular is signed by the Israelite name of Epstein for the Executive Section of the Commissariat of the People for Public Instruction.

Recapitulating: at the beginning of 1934 the prevailing tendency in the U.S.S.R. seemed for a certain time to favor atheism in a negative way, that is, to suppress religion by smothering it with the "socialist construction." Toward March there was a change to energetic methods which were positively anti-religious. This happened especially in the territories furthest removed from the capital² and in the field of public instruction.

* * * * *

What are the reasons for this new energy? Several. In the first place, the Union of Militant Atheists was radically re-organized at the beginning of 1934. Following the example of the Communist Party (in which, especially after the Congress, collective responsibilities give way more and more to individual responsibilities), the Union of Militant Atheists suppressed many offices and in their place established local directors, and above all, "instructors," proper satraps, sent from Moscow and armed with full power over local organizations.

But there is a deeper reason arising from political developments in the country. During 1934 two events of capital importance happened in the internal politics of the U.S.S.R.: the transformation of the Central Vigilance Commission with the consequent suppression of the Commissariat of Espionage over the workers and peasants, and the shake-up in the G.P.U. by the decree of July 10. This re-organization of the G.P.U. was effected after the assassination of the Secretary of the Party in Lenin-grad, Serge Mironovich Kirov.

² For example, at Ivanov, Voronezh, Stalingrad, Chubach, among the Germans of the Volga, Gorki, Uzbekistan, etc.

The Central Vigilance Commission, little known in the West, was the only power before which the same G.P.U. trembled. It was a creation of Stalin and had the duty of spying on Communists, as the G.P.U. had the duty of spying on the rest of the country. This Commission, located at Moscow, with the help of regional Vigilance Commissions, passed on the Marxist orthodoxy of members of the Party, corrected abuses and each year proceeded to a "purification" of the party. The most fervent Communists, even the most zealous agents of the G.P.U., trembled before the inquisitors of the Central Vigilance Commission.

During the first years of Bolshevism, when the various factions struggled among themselves to gain the controlling power, and as the partisans of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin and Stalin held endless discussions on the abstract dogmas of the Party, Stalin, silently and methodically, by means of his Vigilance Commission, was able to remove political adversaries from the most important posts and fill Russia with Communists devoted body and soul to him. Precisely through this Commission he was able to form a Communist Party sufficiently homogeneous and thus uphold his own political ideas in the various congresses and conferences. The manner in which he created, developed and wielded this instrument forces us to recognize in the Soviet Dictator an organizing genius of the first order.

After the initial experiments, one of the first presidents of the Central Vigilance Commission (1923) was Valerian Kujbyshev, lately deceased from cardiac trouble. He retained this position for three years, with Jaroslavsky as his secretary. Promoted to the Department of National Economy, he was succeeded by Stalin's intimate friend, the Georgian Ordzhonikidze, though Jaroslavsky was still continued as secretary. After the Congress of 1930 and the defeat of the right opposition, when the Communist Party became, to use a Bolshevik term, a "monolith," Stalin turned to the task of integral and immediate collectivization. But the members of the Commission adhered to the ideology prevailing before 1930 and for this reason they did not feel entirely secure. Hence they proceeded to a "purification" and a lessening of the members of the Commission. It was then that Jaroslavsky received the admonition above mentioned. The Commission lost much of its importance and did nothing until the Congress of 1934, when it was entirely transformed.

It was divided into two sections. One—called the Soviet Vigilance Commission—has jurisdiction over all the acts of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of the Commissars of the People, which means over the government of the U.S.S.R. It is composed of 70 members. At its head was placed Kujbyshev (who had become a star of the first magnitude in the Soviet firmament) assisted by a "praesidium"

of ten persons, half of whom certainly are Jews. The other section, called the Vigilance Commission of the Party, preserves the prerogatives of the old commission over the persons and organs of the party. Its leader is the most outstanding person in the U.S.S.R. after Stalin, the Jew Kaganovich. Born in the ghetto of the Polish-Jewish city of Homel, Kaganovich was a saddler's shop-boy until the revolution. He joined the Communist Party in 1917 and though the youngest Communist among the present Bolshevik dignitaries he has had a brilliant career. Intelligent, alert, remarkably adaptable, he had notable success in Ukrania, where in a short time he became the idol of the workers, but to the chagrin of the local leaders. These latter had him recalled. But Stalin established him at Moscow as Secretary of the Party for the Capital and its environs. There, quickly eclipsing Molotov, who is now President of the Commissars of the People, he gained great popularity with the Communist workers and became the second figure of the U.S.S.R. It remains to be seen if this intelligent Jew can succeed in keeping in his hands the powerful working instrument given him by the Congress of 1934.

Further, in those days there was noted a new influx of Jews in the government of the U.S.S.R. Kaganovich has placed all his brothers in advantageous positions. In the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, presided over by Litvinov, the Jews are in a majority, likewise in the Commissariat of Commerce with the Jew Rosenholtz at its head. The *sovkhozi*, (government grain factories) vast centers for the provisioning of the State, are entrusted to another Jew, Kalmanovich. In the Communist International the Jews Manujlski, Karl Radek and Bela Kun dominate. On the other hand one notices that Russians are entrusted with the most thankless commissariats, those of Agriculture and those of Transportation. The latter is a perilous post.

When the G.P.U. was transformed into the "Ministry of the Interior," its head was found to be a member of the famous "Cheka" of the U.S.S.R., one of the old companions of the sanguinary Dzerzhinsky—the Jew Jagoda. Its first president is another Jew, Agranov. The change was not pleasing to the G.P.U.

Thus the practical control both of the Communist Party and of the government of the country is in the hands of Jews. Can Stalin, supported by Molotov, Voroschilov, Ordzhonikidze, defend himself for any length of time against the rising tide? At any rate, he seems conscious of the dangers which threaten him. Kaganovich is always protesting his loyalty to Stalin, whom he calls "the beloved leader of the proletariat." But then, his dithyrambs in praise of Stalin raise the question as to how much must be attributed to irony. In a recent speech proclaiming his fidelity to his chief, Kaganovich gave

sufficient insight to the depths of his thought: "The Stalin group is continually teaching us that the Party cannot base its fundamental work on a blind faith, devoid of proof and self-criticism. Even the wisest of men, whoever he be—if he is always in the public eye and in a position where he is not watched—if a blind faith is placed in him, if he finds himself in a position where he will be systematically praised and never criticised, will be spoiled by vanity and infallibly he will surely hurl himself into ruin. The ideal man does not exist, nor is there any man without defects."

Jaroslavsky moves smoothly in the orbit of Kaganovich, coöperating with him on the Vigilance Commission and still more closely as Secretary of the Commission for the Purification of the Party. It is known how much Jaroslavsky is convinced that that Militant Atheism is essential to Communism. Can we, then, ascribe to the growing influence of Kaganovich the renewal of the anti-religious campaign—this effort to galvanize the lethargy of the Russian people wearied by the pretentious and troublesome importunity of the Militant Atheists? And how long will this renewal last?

However, we must keep in mind certain other events which may hold the answer to these questions.

Not without amazement do we note that the idea of "fatherland," once resolutely abandoned in the U.S.S.R., has for some time been gaining ground in Russia, and frequently allusions to this slogan are heard from the mouths of Russian orators. We also note, especially since the assassination of Kirov, that Stalin is relying more and more on Voroschilov and the army. We would have to possess the ingenuous mentality of an adolescent *Komsomol* (member of the Communist Youth) to believe in the "monolithic unity" of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.

Since December of last year dissension among Soviet leaders has become increasingly bitter; the army's influence is steadily growing; the old personnel of the G.P.U. has, in large part, been exterminated or dispersed; many Jews were scattered by the storm; Zinoviev and Kamenev are in prison. Among the members of the "praesidium" of the seventh Soviet Congress held in January, 1935, the Israelites were very rare. This year is proving itself a difficult one for the Soviets.³ It is reported that the newspaper *Bezbozhnik* has ceased publication since January, 1935. What is the reason? Lack of funds? New tactics? . . .

Have the Soviet directors perchance taken thought

³ On March 1, 1935, the agency *Tass* of Moscow announced that Lazaro Kaganovich had resigned as Secretary of the Party at Moscow and as President of the Vigilance Commission of the Party. He has instead been nominated to the most difficult Commissariat of Transportation. The importance of this note is inescapable after what we have reported above.

of the inopportuneness of an anti-religious campaign which would precipitate their ruin? If, after so many years of destructive labor, of sacrilege and profanations, the atheists of Russia see themselves forced to turn back, it seems we may conclude that the Russian people, at least in the depths of their hearts, remain religious enough to resist courageously the most hateful of all oppressions—tyranny

over conscience. After more than 17 years of anti-religious persecution, the Communists—at least the more intelligent and more realistic ones, may perhaps be considering whether it be not time to reverse their policy in order to conciliate the most disinterested and powerful force which influences men, and Russians in particular—religious sentiment.

Ex Umbris et Imaginibus . . .

A Tribute to a Recent Victim of the Soviets

By EDMUND A. WALSH, S.J.

SINCE the preceding article was received, I have had a welcome but saddening visit from one who has experienced what it means to be a Catholic, a priest and a bishop in Russia. On May 29, 1935, Bishop Theophilus Matulionis, recently released from his six years of imprisonment by the Bolsheviks, visited me at Georgetown University to renew and cement an acquaintance made in Russia in 1923. The last time I saw this heroic confessor of the faith was shortly after midnight on Palm Sunday, 1923, when he was condemned to imprisonment in the memorable trial at Moscow referred to in previous articles. Surrounded by bayonets, he was then being led to Butyrki Prison, together with Archbishop Cieplak and the other condemned prelates of Petrograd. The details of Bishop Matulionis' imprisonment are recorded in an article in this collection by Father Toomey entitled "*Soviet Hospitality*."

Together we rehearsed the events of that famous trial so aptly characterized as "murder preceded by mummery." Most important was the authentic information concerning the number of Catholic priests now left in Russia. Confirming the estimate made in my previous article, "*The Two Standards in 1935*," the Bishop informed me that approximately 20 priests were at liberty in Soviet Russia, both European and Siberian, while 130 are either in prison or in convict camps. One more familiar name was struck from my rapidly diminishing list—that of Leonidas Fedorov, Exarch of Russian Catholics belonging to the Uniate Rite.

This death notice awakened memories of a heroic figure that will, I am confident, merit a high place in the annals of the Church Militant and rank with the martyrs and confessors of the heroic age of Christianity. Or shall we say, one of the precursors of the second age of conflict, trial and persecution

that seems to have begun in different quarters of the world?

Meeting him for the first time in Moscow during the dark days of 1923, I instinctively knew that I was in the presence of an Athanasius. Appointed by Benedict XV, in 1921, as Exarch for Catholics of the Slavic Rite in Russia, he was indefatigable in defending the claims of conscience and union with the Apostolic See. Clad always in the long, sweeping purple of his office, with flowing hair black as a raven's wing, and with a noble beard in the Byzantine tradition, his handsome figure arrested attention in any gathering. But it was the nobility and asceticism of his countenance, the piercing tranquillity of his deep-set eyes and the sharp contour of his aquiline nose that made his profile such a striking symbol of other-worldliness that he might have served as true model for Christ in the streets of Moscow.

Often during the Terror, when the relentless net of the G. P. U. was tightening around its predestined victims, I was enabled to be of service to this intrepid shepherd of a tiny flock that was still unafraid although marked for certain extermination. His vision of the Calvary that lay before the Church in Russia was singularly accurate and his counsel for the future was marked by an intuition of Bolshevism that has proved prophetic and circumstantial. Among my most treasured possessions are his letters—veritable pastorals—filled with encouragement and breathing the calm confidence of one who views all earthly phenomena *sub luce aeternitatis*. Some of them were composed even in the prison of Solovki. One of them requested me to permit no steps to be taken for his exchange, as prisoners so released by the Bolsheviks were sure to be exiled. His life, he argued, his intellect and his entire earthly allegiance belonged to his native land, whose

return to the ancient faith was the consuming flame that illumined the little study where we first conversed and sustained him throughout the twelve subsequent years of Soviet brutality.

Lost among the eager spectators that attended his trial and saw him arraigned to make a Soviet holiday, I shall not soon forget the final scene. After five days of public and bitter denunciation, thinly veiled under a pretext of legal procedure, each accused was permitted to make a final statement before the pre-ordained sentence was imposed. If the Bolsheviks hoped that mental anxiety and physical fatigue would weaken Leonidas Fedorov they were roundly deceived. He arose with alacrity and for upwards of an hour faced his persecutors with a courage and nobility of bearing that left them wavering between indignation and respect. Russian of the Russians as he was, born in Petrograd and speaking the language of Pushkin, Dostoevsky and Turgeniev much more correctly than his judges, he waved aside the mendacious charge of conspiring with Polish counter-revolutionaries.

Of humble origin (his father was a baker), he refuted the conventional charge of reactionary sympathy with the Tzarist regime, under which, in point of fact, his faith had been bitterly persecuted and his Oriental Rite particularly penalized. He himself had suffered imprisonment for several years under the Tzars. On one point only was he adamant and uncompromising:

"If the Soviet Government orders me to act against my conscience, I will not obey. As for teaching religion, the Catholic Church lays it down that its children will be taught their religion no matter what the law says. That obligation is above even Soviet law. No law which is against that right can bind."

Unable to find other grounds beyond his loyalty to the Catholic religion, the Public Prosecutor, Krylenko, revealed the very essence of Bolshevik jurisprudence when he said, "*We condemn you not for what you have done but for what you are capable of doing.*" If the Bolsheviks hated Cieplak and Budkiewicz, they feared Leonidas Fedorov. So, instead of murdering him outright, they would crush his great heart and silence his fearless tongue by degrees. To crush his spirit they transferred him from prison to prison, subjecting him to the Soviet processes of slow disintegration in the prison camps on Solovetsky Island and elsewhere. But they never broke his spirit. They accomplished their inexorable death sentence in exactly 12 years. On March 7, 1935, the Angel of the Judgement bade his unconquered soul "*Come. Well done.*"

If it be permitted to the spirits of the departed ever to revisit the scenes of their earthly conflict, the soul of Leonidas Fedorov would, I think, by preference speed its way straight back to the icy solitudes and dripping fogs that hide from an indifferent world his 130 fellow priests who are still in chains in the freezing silence of Arctic prisons. Some one among them, who may be sinking under the load, will feel the brush of an angel's wing. Another will sense a presence, unseen by the jailors of the G. P. U., and all will behold in the leaden skies of the Arctic Circle, a new Sign in which to conquer death. They will not be far wrong, I venture to believe, if, in the privacy of their souls, they should anticipate the judgement of the Church and call on him to sustain them as they tread their own *Via Dolorosa*.



At Viatka,
Soviet Russia,
March 7, 1935

LEONIDAS FEDOROV
Exarch of Russian
Catholics of the
Oriental Rite

In Manus Tuas, Domine . . .

Present Legislation on Religion

in force in the

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

(U. S. S. R.)

*Translation of the Soviet decree
Dated April 8, 1929*

Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars respecting Religious Associations.

No. 353. April 8, 1929.

("Collection of Laws and Ordinances of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic," No. 35, May 18, 1929, Part I, page 474.)

THE All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. decree as follows:

1. Churches, religious groups, doctrines, religious movements and other religious (cult) associations of all kinds are subject to the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R., dated the 23rd January, 1918 (Collection of Laws of 1918, No. 18, Law No. 263), regarding the separation of the Church from the State and the separation of schools from the Church.

2. A religious association of believers of any cult shall be registered as a religious society or group of believers.

A citizen may only belong to one religious (cult) association (society or group).

3. A religious society is a local association of believers, having attained the age of eighteen years, of one and the same cult, belief, conviction and doctrine, and numbering not less than twenty persons, who have combined for the purpose of making provision for their requirements in the matter of religion. Those believers who, owing to lack of numbers, are unable to form a religious society, may form a group of believers. Religious societies and groups of believers have no juridical rights.

4. A religious society or group of believers may only carry on its activities after registration at the competent department of the local Executive Committee or Town Soviet, at the Sub-District (Volost) Executive Committee or at a Town Soviet which is not the administrative centre of a Region (Rayon) or District (Uyezd).

5. In order to effect the registration of a religious society, the organisers, who must number not less than twenty persons, shall lodge a petition for registration with one of the administrative bodies mentioned in Article 4, in accordance with the form sanc-

tioned by the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R.

6. In order to effect the registration of a religious group, the representative of the group (Article 13) shall lodge a petition for registration with one of the administrative bodies, mentioned in Article 4, of the area in which the group is established, in the form sanctioned by the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R.

7. The administrative bodies mentioned in Article 4 shall, within one month from the date of the receipt of this petition, either register the society or group of believers or else inform them that registration has been refused.

8. A list of the persons comprising the religious society or group of believers, their executive and audit bodies and their ministers of religion shall be communicated to the administrative body charged with the registration of the religious association in question, within the period, and in the form, sanctioned by the Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R.

9. Lists of members of religious societies or groups may only contain the names of those believers who have agreed that their names shall be included in the list.

10. Believers belonging to a religious society with the object of making provision for their requirements in the matter of religion may lease under contract, free of charge, from the Sub-District (Volost) or Regional (Rayon) Executive Committee or from the Town Soviet, special buildings for the purpose of worship and objects intended exclusively for the purposes of their cult.

Furthermore, believers who have formed a religious society or group of believers may use for religious meetings other buildings which have been placed at their disposal by private persons or by local Soviets and Executive Committees. All the provisions of the present Decree regarding buildings used for religious worship shall apply to these buildings. Contracts for the use of such buildings shall be concluded by individual believers who will be held responsible [for their execution]. In addition, these buildings must comply with the sanitary and technical building regulations.

Each religious society or group of believers may only use one building for religious worship.

11. Arrangements for the administration and use of religious property, such as contracts for the engagement of watchmen, for the supply of fuel, for repairs to the place of worship and other religious property, for the acquisition of supplies and property necessary for the performance of religious services and ceremonies and for similar matters closely and directly connected with the observances and services of their cult, and for the renting of premises, may be made by citizens who are members of the executive bodies of religious societies or are representatives of groups of believers.

No contract embodying such arrangements may contain in its text any reference to commercial or industrial transactions, even if these are of a kind directly connected with the affairs of the cult, such as the renting of a candle factory or of a printing works for the purpose of printing religious books, &c.

12. General meetings of religious societies or groups of believers may only be held if special permission has been obtained: in villages from the Sub-District (Volost) Executive Committee or from the Regional (Rayon) administrative department; in towns from the administrative department.

13. For the proper administration and use of religious property (Article 11) as well as for representative purposes, religious associations may elect executive bodies by open vote from among their members at general meetings of believers, numbering in the case of religious societies three members and in the case of groups of believers one member.

14. The registering body may exclude any individual member from the administrative body of a religious society or group of believers.

15. For the proper control of religious property and of funds received by voluntary contribution, religious associations may elect at general meetings of believers an audit committee of not more than three members.

16. Meetings of the executive and audit bodies of religious societies and groups of believers may take place without notification being given to, or permission received from, the authorities.

17. Religious associations may not (a) create mutual credit societies, cooperatives or commercial undertakings, or in general use the property at their disposal for other than religious purposes; (b) give material assistance to their members; (c) organise for children, young people and women special prayer or other meetings, or, generally, meetings, groups, circles or departments for biblical or literary study, sewing, working or the teaching of religion, &c., or organise excursions, children's play-grounds, public libraries or reading rooms, or organise sanatoria and medical assistance.

Only books necessary for the purposes of the cult

may be kept in the buildings and premises used for worship.

18. The teaching of any form of religious belief in State, public and private teaching and educational establishments is prohibited. Such teaching is permitted exclusively at special theological courses organised by citizens of the U. S. S. R. by special permission of the Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R. and, in the territories of the Autonomous Republics, by permission of the Central Executive Committee of the Autonomous Republic concerned.

19. The work of ministers of religion, religious preachers and instructors, &c., shall be restricted to the area in which the members of their religious association reside, and to the place where the premises used for worship are situated.

The work of ministers of religion, religious preachers and instructors, who regularly serve two or more religious associations, shall be restricted to the area in which the believers who are members of those religious associations permanently reside.

20. Religious societies and groups of believers may organise local, All-Russian and All-Union religious congresses and conferences, but they must obtain permission on each occasion from:

- (a) The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R. if they desire to organise an All-Russian or All-Union Congress on the territory of the R.S.F.S.R. or if the congress covers the territory of two or more Areas (Kray), Provinces (Oblast) or Governments (Gubernia).
- (b) The corresponding Area (Kray), Province (Oblast), Government (Gubernia) or Circuit (Okrug) administrative department if the congress is to be local.

Permission for the organisation of a congress or conference in an Autonomous Republic shall be obtained from the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs or their representative in the said Republic.

21. Local, All-Russian and All-Union religious congresses and conferences may elect from amongst their participants executive bodies for the purpose of putting into effect the resolutions of the congress. Lists of the members of the executive bodies elected at a religious congress and the records of the congress in duplicate shall, in the form sanctioned by the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R., be furnished to the administrative body which gave permission for the congress to be held.

22. Religious congresses and the executive bodies elected by them do not possess the rights of a juridical person and, in addition, may not—

- (a) form any kind of central fund for the collection of voluntary gifts from believers;
- (b) make any form of enforced collection;
- (c) own religious property, receive the same on contract, obtain the same by purchase or hire premises for religious meetings;
- (d) conclude any form of contract or deal.

23. The executive body of a religious society or group or of a religious congress may use stamps, seals, and forms bearing its name, but solely for religious purposes. These stamps, seals and forms may not bear emblems or legends in use by the institutions or administrative bodies of the Soviet authorities.

24. The initiators and organisers of religious congresses, meetings and conferences may be either religious societies and groups of believers or their executive bodies or the executive bodies of religious congresses.

25. Property necessary for the observance of the cult, whether handed over under contract to the believers forming the religious society or newly acquired by them or given to them for the purposes of the cult, is nationalised and shall be borne on the charge of the competent Town Soviet, Regional (Rayon) or Sub-District (Volost) Executive Committee for the use of the believers.

26. Premises used specially as living quarters for watchmen situated within the confines (fence) of the place of worship or in its neighbourhood shall, in the same manner as other religious property, be handed over under contract for the use of the believers free of charge.

27. The place of worship and religious property shall be handed over for the use of the believers forming a religious society under a contract concluded in the name of the competent Regional (Rayon) Executive Committee or Town Soviet by the competent administrative department or branch, or directly by the Sub-District (Volost) Executive Committee.

28. A building to be used for religious purposes and the property therein shall be taken over under contract from the representative of the Sub-District (Volost) or Regional (Rayon) Executive Committee or Town Soviet by not less than twenty members of a religious society, who shall place the said property at the disposal of all the believers.

29. In the contract concluded by the believers with the Town Soviet, Sub-District (Volost) or Regional (Rayon) Executive Committee, the persons taking delivery of a building to be used for religious purposes and other property for the use of the believers (Article 28) shall bind themselves:

- (a) To keep and protect it as State property entrusted to them.
- (b) To undertake any necessary repairs to the building used for the cult and to bear any expenses connected with the maintenance and use of the property such as heating, insurance, protection, payment of rates and taxes, &c.
- (c) To use the property exclusively for their requirements in the matter of religion.
- (d) To refund any loss caused to the State by damage to, or loss of, the property.
- (e) To keep an inventory of all religious property and

to enter therein all property newly acquired (whether by purchase or gift or from another religious building, &c.) which is not the personal property of individual citizens, and to write off the inventory, with the knowledge and consent of the Executive Committee or Soviet with which the contract has been concluded, such articles as have become worn out.

- (f) To allow the authorised representatives of the Town Soviet or Sub-District (Volost) or Regional (Rayon) Executive Committee or Village Soviet to enter without hindrance at all times, with the exception of such times as religious services are being held, for the periodical verification and inspection of the property.

30. Places of worship having an historical, artistic, or archæological value, on the list of the People's Commissariat for Education, shall be handed over in a similar manner and on a similar basis, with the proviso that the regulations laid down for the care of monuments of art and antiquity on the list of the Commissariat shall be observed.

31. Any local inhabitant of a corresponding belief conviction and doctrine may sign the contract regulating the use of the building and religious property and acquire thereby, even after the religious property has been handed over (to the believers), the right to take part in the administration of the property on equal terms with those persons who first signed the contract.

32. Any person who has signed the contract may have his signature removed from the said contract on giving the necessary notification to the administrative bodies mentioned in Article 4, but this shall not relieve him of responsibility for loss or damage to the property at any period antecedent to the said notification.

33. Buildings used for religious purposes must be insured against fire, at the expense of the persons signing the contract, in favour of (in the name of) the Executive Committee or Town Soviet. In case of fire, the insurance money received may be spent either on the restoration of the place of worship which has been burnt down or, at the discretion of the competent Executive Committee, on the general cultural needs of the area, in strict accordance with the terms of the Decree of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the 24th August, 1925, concerning the use of insurance money received for places of worship which have been burnt down (Collection of Laws of 1925, No. 58; Law No. 470).

34. Should there be no persons desirous of taking over for religious purposes any building or religious property on the terms stipulated in Articles 27-33, the Town Soviet or Sub-District (Volost) or Regional (Rayon) Executive Committee shall place on the doors of the religious building a notification to this effect.

35. If on the expiry of one week from the date of the publication of this notification, no notification

has been received of a desire [on the part of any person] to take over the building and property on the prescribed conditions, the Town Soviet or Sub-District (Volost) or Regional (Rayon) Executive Committee shall so inform the higher Executive Committee. In this communication the administrative body concerned shall indicate the date of the erection of the place of worship, its condition and the objects for which it is proposed to use the building and shall give their observations on this proposal. The Central Executive Committee of an Autonomous Republic not possessing Circuit (Okrug) branches, or the Provincial (Oblast), Government (Gubernia) or Circuit (Okrug) Executive Committee shall determine the further fate of the said building and all property therein, in accordance with Articles 40-42.

36. The disposal for other purposes of a religious building in use by believers (*i.e.*, the liquidation of a place of worship) shall only take place on the authority of a specific Decree of the Central Executive Committee of an Autonomous Republic, or of an Area (Kray), Provincial (Oblast) or Government (Gubernia) Executive Committee, if the building is essential for State or public use. The believers forming the religious society shall be informed of this Decree.

37. If the believers forming this religious society shall, within two weeks from the notification to them of the Decree liquidating their place of worship, appeal against this Decree to the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the whole question of the liquidation of the place of worship shall be submitted to the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. In this case the contract with the believers shall only lose its force and the building used for the cult shall only be taken out of the hands of the believers, if a resolution confirming this decision is passed by the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

38. A contract for the renting of premises which have been nationalised or taken over by a municipality, or for the renting of private houses, for the requirements of a religious association (Article 10, section 2), may be rescinded before the expiration of the term of the contract by ordinary judicial procedure.

39. The liquidation of a place of worship in such a case shall be conducted by the administrative department or section upon the instructions of the competent District (Uyezd) or Regional (Rayon) Executive Committee or Town Soviet, in the presence of representatives of the local finance department and other departments, in cases where they are interested, and of a representative of the religious association concerned.

40. Upon the liquidation of a place of worship religious property shall be disposed of as follows:

- (a) All articles of platinum, gold or silver, or cloth of gold or silver, and precious stones shall be placed

to the credit of the funds of the State and shall be handed over to the local financial body or administrative body of the People's Commissariat for Education, if these articles are on their list, for disposal at their discretion.

- (b) All articles of historical, artistic or museum value shall be handed over to the administrative body of the Commissariat for Education.
- (c) Other articles (icons, robes, banners, covers, &c.) having special significance in the observance of the cult, shall be handed over to the believers for transfer to another place of worship of the same cult: these articles shall be entered in the inventory of religious property under the general rules.
- (d) Articles in general use (bells, furniture, carpets, chandeliers, &c.) shall be placed to the credit of the funds of the State and handed over to the local financial body or administrative body of the educational authorities, if these articles are on their list, for disposal at their discretion.
- (e) Cash and consumable property such as incense, candles, oil, wine, wax, wood, and coal, which are necessary for the execution of the contract or for the performance of religious services, shall not, if the society continues to exist after the liquidation of the place of worship, be subject to appropriation.

41. Places of worship and their watchmen's quarters which are subjected to liquidation may, if they are entered on the list of the local special section dealing with the funds of the State, be handed over by the latter, free of charge, for the use of the Executive Committee or Town Soviet concerned on condition that the buildings in question shall continue to be regarded as nationalised property and that their demolition or use for any other purpose than that specified shall not take place without the knowledge and consent of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R.

42. Local special sections dealing with the funds of the State shall only enter on their list those buildings formerly used for worship which are not on the list or in the care of the Department of Science of the People's Commissariat for Education as architectural monuments, and which cannot be used by the Executive Committee or Town Soviets as centres of culture enlightenment (schools, clubs, reading rooms, &c.) or as dwellings.

43. In case of the non-fulfilment by any religious association of the conditions of its contract or in case of the non-observance by the association of orders issued by an administrative body (concerning re-registration, repairs, &c.) the contract may be cancelled. The right of cancelling a contract shall be reserved to the Central Executive Committee of an Autonomous Republic, or to an Area (Kray), Provincial (Oblast) or Government (Gubernia) Executive Committee, upon the recommendation of subordinate Executive Committees and Soviets.

44. If an appeal against the decision of any administrative body mentioned in the preceding Article (43) is lodged with the Presidium of the All-Russian

Central Executive Committee within a period of two weeks, the actual sequestration of a place of worship or of religious property shall only take place when a final decision has been given by the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

45. The construction of new places of worship may take place at the desire of religious societies provided that the usual technical building regulations and the special regulations laid down by the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs are observed.

46. If a place of worship is, on account of its age, in danger of complete or partial collapse, the administrative body of the Regional (Rayon) or Sub-District (Volost) Executive Committee or Village Soviet may recommend the executive body of the religious association or the representative of the group of believers to suspend religious services and meetings of believers until such time as the building has been examined by a special technical commission.

47. Immediately upon a recommendation for the closing of a place of worship being made, the officials making the recommendation shall communicate with the Department of Building Control and inform them that the technical inspection of the building is urgently necessary. A copy of this communication shall also be sent for their information to the administrative body which has made the contract granting to the believers the use of the religious building and property.

If the building is on the list of the People's Commissariat of Education, a copy of the said communication shall be sent to the Provincial (Oblast), Government (Guberina), or Circuit (Okrug) education department.

48. The technical commission (Article 46) which has been appointed by the Department of the Building Control or by the engineer, shall include with a consultative vote:

- (a) A representative of the local education department, if the religious building is on the list of the People's Commissariat of Education.
- (b) A representative of the competent administrative department, Regional (Rayon) administrative department or Sub-District (Volost) militia or Town Soviet of a town which is not the administrative centre of a Region (Rayon) or District (Uyezd).
- (c) A representative of the religious association.

49. The findings of the technical commission shall be set forth in a memorandum recording the inspection and these shall be binding and must be carried out.

50. If the technical commission find that the building is in danger of collapse, the memorandum must state whether the building should be demolished or whether it will be sufficient to carry out repairs. In the latter case the memorandum must state exactly what repairs are necessary and the period required to carry them out. Religious associations may not allow meetings for worship or any other purpose to

take place in such a building until the repairs have been completed.

51. If the believers refuse to carry out the repairs set forth in the memorandum, the contract made with them for the use of the religious building and property is subject to cancellation by a decision of the Central Executive Committee of an Autonomous Republic, or of an Area (Kray), Provincial (Oblast) or Government (Guberina) Executive Committee.

52. If the technical commission find that it is necessary to demolish the building, the contract made with the believers for the use of the building shall be cancelled by a decision of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of an Autonomous Republic or of an Area (Kray), Provincial (Oblast) or Government (Guberina) Executive Committee.

53. On the cancellation of a contract and the conclusion of an agreement for the demolition of a building with the local education department and the local finance department, the provisions of the memorandum of the technical commission regarding the demolition of the place of worship shall be carried out by the Sub-District (Volost) or Regional (Rayon) Executive Committee or Town Soviet and paid for out of the sums realised by the sale of the building materials obtained from the demolition of the building. The sums remaining after meeting the expenses of demolishing the building shall be placed to the credit of the State.

54. Members of groups of believers and religious societies may raise subscriptions among themselves and collect voluntary offerings, both in the place of worship itself and outside it, but only amongst the members of the religious association concerned and only for purposes connected with the upkeep of the place of worship and the religious property, for the engagement of ministers of religion and for the expenses of their executive body.

Any form of forced contribution in aid of religious associations is punishable under the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.

55. All religious property, whether received as an offering or acquired out of voluntary offerings, must be entered in the inventory of religious property.

Voluntary gifts (offerings) for the decoration of a place of worship or of religious objects must be entered in the inventory of religious property in use, free of charge, by the religious society.

Voluntary offerings in kind made with any other object than the above, and monetary offerings for the needs of the religious society or for the maintenance (repair, heating, &c.) of the place of worship, or for the use of ministers of religion need not be entered in the inventory of religious property.

Voluntary monetary offerings by believers shall be entered by the treasurer of the religious association in an account book.

56. Members of the executive body of a religious society or representatives of a group of believers

may expend monetary offerings, as may be required, for the management of the place of worship and religious property.

57. Meetings held for the purpose of worship by believers combined in groups or societies may take place, without notification being given to, or permission obtained from, the authorities, in places of worship or in specially adapted premises which comply with the technical building and sanitary regulations.

In premises not specially adapted, religious meetings of believers may take place after notification has been made—in village settlements to the Village Soviet and in town settlements to the Militia department, or, if the latter does not exist, to the administrative department.

58. No religious service or ceremony may take place in any State, public, co-operative or private institution, nor may any religious object be placed within such institutions.

This prohibition shall not apply to the performance, at the request of a person who is dying or seriously ill in a hospital or prison, of a religious service in a place apart or to the performance of religious services at cemeteries or crematoria.

59. Religious processions and religious services and ceremonies may only take place in the open if a special permit is obtained on each occasion—in towns which are the administrative centres [of a territorial division] not smaller than a Region (Rayon) from the competent administrative department or section, in towns which are not administrative centres and in workers' colonies or health resorts from the Presidium of the Town Soviet or Soviet of the health resort and in villages either from the administrative department of the Regional (Rayon) Executive Committee or the Sub-District (Volost) Executive Committee. Application for a permit must be made not less than two weeks before the date of the proposed ceremony. No special permit is required for religious services in connexion with funerals.

60. In the case of religious processions around religious buildings which form an integral part of a religious service, no special permit or notification to the authorities is necessary, either in towns or villages, provided that the said processions do not interfere with the normal traffic of the streets.

61. Religious processions and religious services and ceremonies may only be held beyond the area (of residence) of the religious association concerned if a special permit is obtained on each occasion from the administrative body which has sanctioned the

use of their religious property. Such a permit may only be given if the consent of the Executive Committee of the Region (Rayon) in which it is proposed to hold the procession, service or ceremony has first been obtained.

62. A record of the religious societies and groups of believers in their area shall be kept by those administrative bodies which register religious associations.

63. Administrative bodies which register religious associations (Article 6) shall supply statistics regarding them in the form prescribed by, and on the dates fixed by, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R., to District (Uyezd) and Circuit (Okrug) administrative departments, to the People's Commissariats for Internal Affairs of Autonomous Republics and to Area (Kray), Provincial (Oblast) and Government (Gubernia) administrative departments, which shall, in their turn, summarise these statistics and send them to the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R.

64. Supervision of the activities of religious associations and of the safety of buildings and religious property leased to them under contract shall be exercised by the registering administrative body, and in villages such supervision shall also be exercised by the Village Soviet.

II.

65. All religious associations already in existence within the territory of the R.S.F.S.R. at the time of the publication of this decree must, within a period of one year, register at the place in which they are established, in the manner laid down in and with the administrative body indicated in this Decree.

66. Religious associations which do not comply with the requirements of the preceding article shall be considered to be dissolved and the procedure contemplated in such cases by this Decree shall take effect.

67. With the publication of this Decree the following Decrees of the R.S.F.S.R. cease to remain in force:

- (1) The Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee dated the 27th December, 1921, regarding valuables in churches and monasteries (Collection of Laws of 1922, No. 19: Law No. 215).
- (2) Decree of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee dated the 30th July, 1923, respecting the transfer of the ten days of rest granted to citizens of the Orthodox faith (see Article 112 of the Labour Code, 1922 issue) from

the old style to the new style (Collection of Laws for 1923, No. 70: Law No. 678).

(3) The Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee dated the 14th August, 1923, explaining the procedure for the transfer of the ten days of rest to the new style (Collection of Laws for 1923, No. 72: Law No. 707).

(4) The Decree of the Council of People's Commissars dated the 19th September, 1923, regarding the disposal of church property in general use (Collection of Laws of 1923, No. 79: Law No. 762).

68. The People's Commissariat of the R.S.F.S.R. shall, within a period of one month, withdraw all departmental circulars, explanations and orders, which contain provisions contrary to the present

Decree and shall publish a list of those departmental acts which remain valid.

(Signed) President of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee,

M. KALININ.

Deputy President of the Council of People's Commissars,

A. SMIRNOV.

Deputy Secretary of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee,

A. DOSOV.

April 8, 1929.

Christ in the Modern World

From "*Christ and the Western Mind: Love and Belief*"

By KARL ADAM (Sheed and Ward)

More and more the western mind is drifting away from Christ. No doubt even during the flourishing periods of the Christian West there were times of stagnation and even decay. But the general spiritual life was nevertheless markedly Christian. The development moved upwards, Christwards. Even to-day, it is true, there exist many homes of vigorous faith, many faithful communities of disciples. But the face of the West is nowadays non-Christian, in parts even anti-Christian. The development leads downwards, away from Christ. And inasmuch as Christ, and He alone, is our life, *the Life*, this flight from Christ of the present day is a flight from life, into death: it means destruction. . . .

Who could venture to say whether or not a Christian revival of the West is part of the free predestination of Divine Providence? We can only assert that the West, despite its sins, is even to-day endowed with certain privileges, certain advantages, certain external "graces" which justify us in thinking that God's call still goes out to it. The Rock of Peter still stands unshaken on the banks of the Tiber. In face of all the disunion and disruption of nations and peoples, and of the break-up of human

society, it is still the centre where all the restless turmoil of our modern developments can find its way back to unity. In the midst of our western civilisation there is still an authority, older than all the states, firmer than all the thrones; more powerful than all dictatorships, more sacred than the law of nations. All these, the states, the thrones, the dictatorships and the law of nations are but things of yesterday, the products of time. But this authority in our midst lives by the eternal will of Christ, spirit of his spirit, power of his power. It will forever proclaim this authority of Christ, forever be ready as our guide, in order to help us to find our way out of chaos. And on this Rock rests the Western Church. Her organisation is still unimpaired; her doctrine still pure; it still receives the homage of obedience of an army of the faithful, devoted, prepared for sacrifice. There are still tabernacles in the West and men who pray before them. The Body of Christ still finds living members in whom He fulfils himself day by day and who do not bend the knee before Baal. Thus the West is still the privileged place of Divine blessing, where the grace of Christ has not remained without witness.

Russian Communism As a Religion

By S. K. RATCLIFFE

From THE YALE REVIEW, Winter, 1932

COUNT WITTE, best of the tsardom's later statesmen, wrote in his memoirs: "In my opinion the greatest danger confronting Russia is the degeneration of the official Orthodox Church and the extinction of the living religious spirit of the people. . . . No body politic can exist without higher spiritual ideals. These can only sway the masses if they are simple, lofty, and accessible to everyone; in a word, if they bear the imprint of the divine. Without religion the masses turn into herds of intelligent beasts. Our Church has unfortunately long since become a dead bureaucratic institution. We have less faith than any other nation. Japan has defeated us because she believes in her God incomparably more than we do in ours."

The writer of these words was a representative man of the old régime, a modern European but a pious Russian. As such he could not conceive of a religion, or of a religious consciousness, which did not bear the imprint of the divine. A purely materialist social religion was inevitably to such a man a shocking contradiction in terms. And yet that is what Russia has produced since his time, and is now systematically developing. Five years only after Witte's memoirs were written the revolution befell. Eight years later a famous English economist, after taking a quick glance at Soviet Russia, put his main conclusion into the statement that "Leninism is a combination of two things which Europeans have kept for some centuries in different compartments of the soul—religion and business." We should not be able, he added, to understand Russian communism unless we viewed it as, at one and the same time, a persecuting and missionary religion and an experimental economic technique.

John Maynard Keynes formed this judgment in 1925, the year after Lenin's death, at a time when it seemed not impossible that the religion of communism and Lenin's economic technique might together undergo defeat. In 1928, however, the scene and the outlook changed again with the launching by the Soviet government of the unexampled Five-Year Plan. Go through Russia to-day, as the Plan is entering upon its crucial stage, and you will be compelled to see in the religion of communism a mighty faith, the one great driving and shaping power of the country. You may, indeed, find yourself earnestly combating the thought that within a decade it may prove to be the strongest of all forces among the awakened peoples of the world.

In this article I am concerned with the one great

question of communism as religion, and therefore may not dwell at any length upon the anti-church policy of the Soviet government and the communist party. A brief summary of historical fact, however, is unavoidable, if we would understand the scope and quality of the religious upheaval through which Soviet Russia has passed and is passing.

From the Middle Ages to the beginning of the present century, religious freedom as known to the West never existed in Russia. Two hundred years ago Peter the Great made himself head of the Russian Orthodox church and abolished the patriarchate. Until 1905 it was a punishable crime for a Russian Orthodox church member to separate himself from the church. The Old Believers and the dissenting sects were persecuted. Thousands of their members were sent into Siberian exile, or migrated to the United States, while the powerful aid of Leo Tolstoi was enlisted to find a home in Western Canada for the Dukhobors. The Orthodox church was a department of the state, and it gave an unwavering support to the imperial system. The Tsar as the "Little Father" was identified with the myth of Holy Russia which the priesthood upheld, not unassisted in later years by certain popular writers of the West. But modernist Russia treated all this as an irrelevance. To the social revolutionists of the nineteenth century the Orthodox church was linked with the tsardom as the enemy: what else indeed could it be? They took for granted that no matter what shape the Russian revolution might in the end assume, it must involve an anti-clerical policy and uncompromising war on the church establishment. And yet, when the empire actually fell, there seemed, at any rate, one chance that destiny might have a different development in store.

The revolution of 1917 created a new system, in which there appeared at first to be some possibility of free religious life. The powerful office of Procurator of the Holy Synod was abolished. Tikhon was inducted as Patriarch. Benjamin was elected Archbishop of Petrograd by popular acclamation. Many millions of Russians doubtless entertained a hope that the mediaeval system could be peacefully broken up and a reformed Russian church emerge, friendly to the revolution. But any such hope was found to be illusory. Within a few months of the Bolshevik triumph, Tikhon was denouncing the excesses of the revolution as satanic, and was warning his followers not to enter into any kind of association with the new masters of Russia. They on their

part struck back. Although later, Tikhon issued an epistle urging the church not to interfere in politics, the church henceforward was deemed by the Soviet government to be inseparable from counter-revolution.

Early in 1918 came the first important decree. It proclaimed the wholly secular character of the state and the separation of the schools from the church. All church possessions were declared confiscated, and all church buildings were transferred to the state. No church was allowed to own property. Citizens were free to profess any religion, so long as it did not interfere with public order. This move of the Soviet government seemed decisive, but the great anti-church offensive was not launched for another three years. It was in 1921 that the terrible famine in the Volga region began, and the government seized the occasion for the suppression of the church power. It ordered the immediate surrender of all church treasures for the relief of the famine sufferers, with heavy penalties for prelates and priests who resisted. Throughout the year 1922 the attack was pressed, with the trials of Archbishop Benjamin and the Patriarch Tikhon as the central incidents of the campaign. It is not denied that very many bishops and priests were active in opposition, and that they did all in their power to inflame their parishioners against the revolutionary government. But, as always, the charge of counter-revolution was extremely elastic, and it cannot be doubted that the customary tyranny of a government making war on a great church and its hierarchy was in the case of Soviet Russia expanded to its farthest limits. It is not denied that the treatment of priests and their families has been inhuman. They were deprived of civil rights; they cannot obtain ration cards; their children are refused admission to school and college, nor can they turn to factory labor and make places for themselves as genuine workers. The curse of non-proletarian origin is upon them. In Soviet Russia the pride of birth is exactly reversed: the youth who means to rise must prove the parentage which, in the capitalist world, nearly every careerist takes pains to hide; and the child of the priest suffers a twofold social damnation.

The results of ten years of confiscation and suppression are, as we should expect, matter of the fiercest controversy. As late as three or four years ago, visitors to Russia were reporting that in the cities large numbers of churches were still being served and were attracting congregations of various kinds. In 1931 I was informed on good authority that probably one hundred and fifty churches were open in Moscow, out of the forty-times-forty of popular legend. All I can say is, they were very hard to discover when I was in Russia last summer. Here and there one would see an open church door, with a congregation at worship; but there seemed to be no great city church still operating. In Lenin-

grad the interior of the spacious Kazan Cathedral offered the subdued spectacle of a dispirited staff of clergy and the remnant of a congregation once overflowing—less than three hundred people, nearly all middle-aged or elderly. One after another, the city churches are being demolished or turned into museums, club houses, or other social agencies. They are being swept away by the dozen in street improvements or to make way for new houses. Hundreds of them would seem to be of no account whatever as buildings, being obviously very poor for their original purpose and useless for any other, although in a romantic city such as Kiev or Nizhni Novgorod the destruction of any old church seems always regrettable. The huge modern structure of the Church of the Redeemer, standing upon the most commanding site in Moscow, is being taken down before it was completed; and in Leningrad the tourist learns, almost always, I should say, with a shock, that the anti-religious museum is housed under the gilded dome of St. Isaac's Cathedral. The anti-church activities are thoroughgoing and universal. But they are not nearly so blatant as some recent writers assert. One of these has said: "Posters, holding the Holy Family up to ridicule and contempt as lackeys of the exploiters, hang on every hoarding in Russia." They do not. The statement is grotesquely untrue. Such posters exist, but you may pass thousands of billboards without seeing one of them.

What is happening over the immensity of rural Russia is a matter far more difficult to determine. The feeling of the peasants towards the church and the priest must have many regional variations, but it is almost certainly true that the socialization of the farms, with the steady advance of the Collectives, is producing results comparable with those in the cities. The vivid accounts by Maurice Hindus and Anna Strong of the great new farming areas make this very clear, while it should never be forgotten that the soldiers of the Red Army, rigorously drilled in communism, and the ardent young evangelists of the League of Communist Youth are always at work in the villages, ever widening their influence. It seems impossible to offer any denial to the general assumption of communist Russia that the Orthodox church is finally doomed, if not yet universally dead.

The communist state and party in Russia are more than atheist: they are by definition and policy altogether anti-religious. The proofs of this are without beginning or end. Stalin is on record as saying: "The party cannot be neutral in regard to religion. Communists who hinder the broadest development of anti-religious propaganda have no place in the ranks." Many parallel declarations by Lenin have been quoted time and again in the West. Two of them will suffice as examples. Lenin said on one occasion: "Religion is the opiate of the people, said

Marx, and this thought is the corner stone of the whole Marxian philosophy in the question of religion. Marxism regards all religions and churches, all religious organizations, as agents of bourgeois reaction, serving to drug the minds of the working class and to perpetuate their exploitation." And again: "Marxism is materialism. . . . We must combat religion. . . . The fight must be directed towards eradicating the roots of religion. . . . And the roots of religion to-day are to be found in the social oppression of the masses, their apparently complete helplessness in face of the blind forces of capitalism."

Similarly in regard to the schools, Krupskaya (Lenin's widow) said: "It is necessary more and more to inject a materialistic spirit into education, . . . to eradicate more deeply the roots of religion." Lunacharsky, formerly Commissar of Education, at a time when religious teachers were estimated at between thirty and forty per cent of the whole body, said that the believing teacher in a Soviet school was an awkward contradiction; and, speaking at the fourteenth Congress of Soviets, he asserted that all their cultural institutions must be regarded as "working on the front for the repulse of the religious peril"; the weed of religion, he added, "must be somehow rooted out from the fields and gardens."

Nothing could be easier than to multiply such passages as these. They are scattered thickly all over the literature of revolutionary Russia. But there is no need to quote more; the central fact of the atheist state is sufficiently familiar. Let us turn away from the anti-church policy of the Soviet government to the social ethics and philosophy of Russian communism. And let us look first at the positive character of the belief which it offers in contradiction to, and as a substitute for, the faith and practice of traditional Christianity.

Dr. Sherwood Eddy records that he invited a high Soviet official to set forth in specific terms the social and ethical tenets which communist and Christianity have in common, and those in which they are opposed. This request brought an interesting reply. The common aims, as they were stated by this official, are in brief form, these:

Each system, Christianity or communism, seeks a new social order based on social justice and co-operation, in a classless society or equal brotherhood. Each believes in worldwide missionary propaganda and obedience to the call for world service, in the training of youth, and in instruction of the illiterate. Each professes faith in the common man.

Each believes itself to be the one hope of humanity, the savior of the world. Each is an absolute system, claiming to be the way and expecting to conquer the world; each looks with aversion upon the other.

Each believes in social service, entire loyalty of

the individual to the cause. Each stands in theory for the simple life, condemnation of selfish accumulation and unshared wealth, of profiteering and social wrong.

Each professes belief in a predestined reign of righteousness, where no rule of force will be necessary.

Each has been persecuted and violently opposed; each believes in costly struggle. The orthodox section of each believes in an apocalyptic, cataclysmic world conflict, or Armageddon, before the new order can triumph—the one supernatural, the other natural—by the organized effort of the workers.

When it came to the differences between the two systems, Dr. Eddy's informant placed on the side of communism the following tenets:

A conception of the universe as materialistic mechanism, without a god; of man without a soul or an enduring personality of absolute worth.

Absolute loyalty to social control and to the cause of the revolution.

Class hate in the class war.

Destructive revolution, and government by coercion, dictatorship, as the means to an end.

An immediate new epoch of social justice by compulsion; subjection of the individual for the sake of social salvation.

The Christian principles in opposition to these beliefs are so familiar to everybody that there is no need to mention them here.

The Soviet official went on to explain to Dr. Eddy that the two systems, Christianity and communism, are in necessary and violent antagonism: "Religion traditionally, and in Russia habitually," he asserted, "has sanctioned oppression. You stand for class peace, we for class war. Your Christian principles blunt the edge of this class war. I repeat that no person is persecuted for his belief but only for his political, social, or economic hostility to our programme." And yet, as he so clearly pointed out, it is the religious belief itself, the essential idea of Christianity, which conflicts with the basic idea and purpose of the communist state, so that it would seem to be impossible in practice to draw the line that exists in theory.

So much for the absolute hostility of the Soviet state to the church and to religion as a system. There is, of course, something more: something, I suggest, of great interest and importance. It is that Marxian economics and the communist theory as a whole stand for a complete negation of the central, the quintessential, things in religion itself—to all those ideas and sentiments which make the special character of the great redemptive faiths, apart from the ethical virtues. How do we ordinarily think of these essentials? Surely as charity, compassion, forgiveness; the lowly heart, the contrite spirit, the grace of the humble and meek.

Now, it would be altogether impossible to over-

state the width of the chasm that separates the driving force of communism from the mind of Buddha or the spirit that the Christian world has recognized in Jesus. On the one side is mercy and peace, implying a continuous process of contrition and forgiveness, the ever-present thought of a supernatural realm and fulfilment in a transcendental sphere. On the other, is rigid intellect, logic, "dialectical materialism"; entire concentration upon the life of this world and no other.

When Mr. Keynes declared that communism—or as he then called it, Leninism—must be recognized as a new and dynamic religion, he enumerated certain characteristics as among those that religions invariably possess. Communism, for instance, like many other new religions, is persecuting and unscrupulous; is filled with missionary ardor and oecumenical ambitions; is led by men who can combine the new spirit with an ability to see a good deal more than their fellows; and, still like other new religions, it "seems to take the color and gayety and freedom out of everyday life and to offer a drab substitute in the square wooden faces of its devotees." I have no quarrel on any of these points with the author of a brilliant brochure, which on rereading after a short view of Russia on my own account, I find to be no less apposite and discerning than it seemed to me six years ago. But I think that the astounding Russia of an advanced state Collectivism and the Five-Year Plan compels the Western observer to go farther even than Mr. Keynes went in insisting upon the force and scope of communism as religion. It possesses an extraordinary range. It wields an immense compulsive power. And it is built upon the twofold foundation of an inflexible system of dogma and a rigorously controlled order of devotees—the communist party—which together confer upon the Soviet's system the character of a religious organization for a parallel to which we must go back to the greatest and most potent systems of mediaeval Christendom.

How, then, is it possible to deny this character to the communist party, in which all the governing power of Soviet Russia resides? Here is no national political party, like British Labor or German Social Democracy, which are important in measure of their numbers. It is a severely selected executive body, the membership of which is and must be limited. Admission is guarded by merciless tests of orthodoxy, mental equipment, and service. Responsibility is distributed throughout a graded hierarchy, all the officers of which are held in a rigid scheme of discipline and surveillance which can never have been surpassed in these respects at any period by the Dominican or Jesuit rule. There is no limit to the obedience demanded by the communist party; the principle demands the entire surrender of the individual to the order and to the cause. The revolutionary motive must be supreme, and the motive

of personal gain is wholly eliminated. No communist can legitimately make money. No matter how important the office or how high the salary attached to it, a party man cannot receive officially more than three hundred rubles a month. Hitherto, we are assured, the rule has admitted of no exception. It stands as a strict condition of party method; it is to be upheld without violation or variation. Over again the capitalist world of acquisitiveness and the wage motive, that is to say, Soviet Russia has chosen the system of control, subordination, and equality in its ranks—a system and method which, we may all agree, could never be applied to our human nature save within the bounds and under the dominion of motives other than those which have been accepted among us as of universal validity. In brief, if the communist party is not a religious order, we should find it difficult in the contemporary world to apply the name elsewhere.

A religious order thus devised would seem to need the support of propaganda devoted to the purposes of a popular cult—a centre, personal or other, of the communist faith. The outside world had supposed, at all events in the first stage of the Soviet revolution, that the communist divinity could be no other than Karl Marx. That is not so. Ten years ago, in the epoch of military communism, H. G. Wells was excessively annoyed by the ubiquity in Russia of Marx's head and beard. They have receded. In present-day Russia no one could feel them to be obtrusive. The spiritual allegiance of communism is given elsewhere.

"Thou shall have no other god but Lenin" is alleged by some writers to be a communist commandment. That, one need hardly say, is nonsense. There is no deification of Lenin, and will not be; but there prevails throughout Soviet Russia a most remarkable cult of him as leader and hero, as the supreme embodiment of the proletarian idea.

The manifestations of the cult are universal. We see the portrait of the bust in the Red Corner of every factory and institution, in office, workshop, and store; his sayings displayed as mottoes, his admonitions quoted as holy writ; his collected works distributed over the Union; his career and triumph made the culminating exhibit in every museum of the revolution; his meagre quarters in the Smolny Institute kept as they were during the October days that shook the world in 1917. Moreover, transcending all else in the communist scheme of revolutionary culture, and I think in all modern ritual, there is the evening procession of pilgrims to the central shrine in the Red Square, backed by the wall of the Kremlin, where the tomb stands—a massive square structure of deep-toned marble and granite, in several colors, and with a polish as high as stone will take. Two soldiers stand rigid at the door, which opens at seven o'clock. There is a long line of pilgrims who are passed quickly through in single

file. The embalmed figure lies within a glass enclosure; and round the wall of the chamber slabs of crimson marble are so fixed as to give a most striking red-flag effect. Lenin is a small, reddish man. He has a high brow and bears on the face a look of simplicity and shrewdness, singularly appropriate to the proletarian hero.

There are, as it seems to me, three other aspects of communism as religion that are of conspicuous and challenging interest to all Western students of the new Russia. They are these: the enthronement of the Marxian economics and philosophy of history as the absolute canon of orthodoxy; the absorption by the Soviet state of all the functions of the mediæval church; and a merciless indoctrination of the young people, issuing in the religious fervor of communist youth.

The supremacy of Marxist orthodoxy is a commonplace. The dogma is proclaimed, and apparently accepted, as inspired, complete, invulnerable. Criticism and even attack are noticeably free in Russia, so long as they are confined to the externals of administration. The one thing that must not be questioned or assailed is the central system of communist theory and practice, and the doctrine is enshrined in the twofold revelation of "Das Kapital" and Lenin's collected works. For how much longer Karl Marx will hold his original position it is impossible to guess. As the prophet of communism he is and must be irremovable, but it may be doubted whether the Russians will continue to hold him in equal reverence as the architect of communist economics. Their ceasing to do so would be no cause for surprise. Such a fate is not unknown among the founders of religions, nor is it needful that the abandonment of the prophet as practical guide should lessen the force of the dogma associated with his name.

The second point is of even greater interest. A cardinal aim of the Soviet government and the communist party is to create a godless state, from which shall be eradicated the forms, the vocabulary, the legends, and even the memory of Holy Russia and everything belonging to it. But who could fail to see that, so far from making an end of the Spiritual Power, this policy is building a state which comprehends the Spiritual Power in the fullest sense? It replaces the ecclesiastical authority with an authority vastly greater, wielding as it does all the power of state and church, while ardent members of the communist party exercise the ubiquitous influence of a secular priesthood. Not only does the Soviet government shape and control all the agencies of the communal life. Every despotism attempts as much as that; the Soviets do far more. The overpowering force of communism springs from the identity of the theory with the system. The antagonism between the religious faith of the peoples

and the governments under which they existed is the historic contradiction of Christendom. The doctrines of Jesus have time and again been declared incompatible with the state and social systems of the modern world. In communism there is no such antagonism. No sign of internal conflict is to be discerned. The dogma finds its full embodiment in the system. The block, to use Mussolini's phrase, is monolithic.

And, coming to the last point, a revolutionary system which stands out in full and rigid unity of action and idea is alone capable of commanding the allegiance of awakened youth. The Soviets are building a commonwealth of the young, and the reality and newness of that purpose transcends all else in significance.

"The soldier of the Revolution," Mr. Keynes wrote in the essay from which I have quoted, "must crucify his own human nature, becoming unscrupulous and ruthless, and suffering himself a life without security or joy—but as a means to his purpose but not an end." So it seemed to this keen observer three years before the country was thrust under the discipline and fired by the boundless hopes of the Five-Year Plan. And so, doubtless, must it seem to nearly all observers from England and America as they look upon Russia under the hammer of the Soviets, and see something of the deliberate remoulding of the largest of existing nations. The process involves, as we know, the paying of an immeasurable price, one part of which is the crushing out, amid countless personal and group tragedies, of whole classes of people whose counterparts, in all ages of mankind and under every governing system hitherto known, have lived within protecting walls, encouraged by everything around them to believe in the rightness and permanence of their privileged status.

To citizens of the West, as to millions of bewildered victims in Russia, the spectacle is one of misery and dread. But we have to tell ourselves that the youth of the new Russia do not and cannot see it thus. They are not oppressed by the iron hand. The terrible state is no terror to them. It is their all-potent ally—relaying the foundations, opening doors, making new roads of knowledge and action. Moreover—and this is a most vital matter—Russian communism has made a new and startling contribution to the philosophy of mechanical power. Ever since the first industrial revolution machinery has been in every part of the world the great instrument for the enslavement of the wage-earner. To Soviet Russia it is the means of social rebirth, of dynamic renewal. And as a consequence all Russia is given over to the worship of mechanism. Again, we must remember that in Russia to-day there is visible for the first time an entire generation of young people which has known only the revolution-

ary order, and, having been indoctrinated, with the aid of every kind of instruction and enforcement, is conscious of playing its own decisive part in the building of the new era. As I write these words I think of a unique experience which came to our party in Moscow on the seventeenth anniversary of the League of Communist Youth—the view of an immense parade of young men and women, under marvellous co-operative discipline, marching through the Red Square. The effect was overwhelming, indescribable. One inference which, I feel, every fair-minded spectator must have drawn from it is put briefly and accurately in a few words by an English-woman who witnessed a similar though much smaller display in another city. “I knew,” writes Mrs. Cecil Chesterton, “as I saw those strong and eager faces that it is the Russian youth who feed the flame of Communism throughout the U.S.S.R. To them the Soviet is an inspiration and an ecstasy, comparable only to the fierce ardor of a religious

cause, for which they proudly live and would gladly die.”

That, I am convinced, is a right word, which applies to every demonstration of Russian youth in these days of conviction and concentrated drive. How far, and to what end, the present fervor and high-powered effort can be maintained, it is, of course, impossible to predict. But this one thing must be said: to look first upon Russia in the present hour, as the Soviet Union enters upon the crucial stage of the Five-Year Plan, and then to meet again the picture presented by England and the United States, is to feel the shock of a violent contrast. In these two countries, there is a venerable system struggling through crisis with confusion of mind, their leaders baffled and afraid, their young people skeptical and indifferent. In Russia, we see a people of vast numerical strength yielding obedience to a solemn and terrific purpose, driven by a rigorous unitary power troubled by no doubts and turned aside by no divided aims.



Catholic Action and Atheist Action

Editorial comment from CATHOLIC WORLD, August, 1934

ON a steaming hot Sunday night in July a thousand men and women stood listening to an atheist lecturer in Columbus Circle, New York City. Sweating and gesticulating the agitator hoarsely shouted, "For those that want a God I say, let 'em have one. If they believe in Santa Claus, it's O. K. by me. I don't hold with those who say that the Mother Goose books should be snatched out of the children's hands. I wouldn't take candy away from a kid. If a man has a lame leg, that's his misfortune. Don't laugh at him. If it isn't his leg but his mind that is lame, it's too bad. He's a cripple but don't rub it in. So, I say if a man believes in God, let him have his God!"

Atheist Action

As I listened I wasn't thinking of the trickiness of the argument, or the lameness (literal and figurative) of the comparison. I was thinking of "Catholic Action." For here was Atheist Action. The temperature was well over ninety. The atmosphere on the street was suffocating not only with heat and humidity (I have read of an African explorer who said New York City in summer was more oppressive than the Congo jungle) but with carbon monoxide and dioxide and with the effluvia of the crowd. Yet there the crowd stood, interested, even respectful, and to all appearances in process of being convinced. There was no heckling, no audible protest, though I did hear one woman say, "And he might die tonight!" They stood on the hot pavement, sat on the curbstone, hatless, coatless, mopping their brows—but listening. Here and there in the crowd was a lemonade bar or an Eskimo Pie shop on wheels, but they were sparingly patronized. The congregation preferred listening to eating and drinking, even though they could drink for a penny and eat for a nickle.

Meanwhile the churches were dark. Their day's work was done, and other priests like myself had strolled out to see if the streets were not a shade cooler than the house. But I was hotter when I returned than when I went out. Not because of the weather, but because my mind had caught fire. I reflected: Masses all morning from six o'clock to twelve, sermons (in season if not out of season), ro-

saries and benedictions, sodalities and Holy Name Societies, processions, celebrations, solemn ceremonies galore. We are saving the saved but what are we doing for street loiterers and potential atheists?

Are Not Atheist People Our People?

I think I have heard all the excuses: "These agitators are monomaniacs if not paranoiacs, professional malcontents, ignorant, violent, venal, immune to reason, emotional perverts." Yes, yes, no doubt, but I am not directly interested in the agitators but in the listeners. "They are not our people?" How do you know? Have Catholics never gone renegade, even atheist? I have met ex-Catholic atheists, not a few. One of them in particular I remember "from the bogs of Ireland" as he himself said, with a brogue as thick as butter and a name as Catholic as Mulcahey or O'Donoghue. As for "our people," every mother's son and daughter on the pavement that hot night was ours. Have we forgotten Our Savior's "other sheep"? or St. Paul's "To the Greeks and to the barbarians, to the wise and the unwise, I am a debtor. To the bourgeois and the proletariat. To the educated and to those who have no knowledge, no wisdom, no logic, no sense. To the submissive and to the rebellious. To the congregation that worships at the altar with soft sweet liturgical music, and to curbstone sitters and pavement standers who stretch their ears to hear above the strident honking of auto-horns and the rattle-de-bang of flat-wheeled street cars,—to all men I have obligations"?

At this point, my readers (if I have not already shaken them off) will probably say, "The writer has caught the mood of the soapbox orator. This is not an editorial paragraph, cool, dispassionate and objective but a harangue just as truly as that of the demagogue in the street." So be it. I only wish I had the power of the spellbinder, that I might take up a pitch close by him, lure away some of his crowd and convince them that the devil has not all the good tunes, nor the devil's agent all the good arguments, that we Christians are not children who cry if their candy be snatched away, or cripples who collapse if their crutches be knocked from under them.

Catholic Action or Inaction?

All of which is but one way of saying that with all our prattle about "Catholic Action" we haven't yet inaugurated action adequate to our cause, commensurate with our opportunities and responsibilities. Why blink the facts? The world is running away from us and for the most part we are looking down from the top of an ivory tower, or peeking out through cracks in the sacristy, wringing out hands and crying, "Dear me, dear me, goodness gracious, isn't it terrible how unbelief and immorality are making headway: how strange, how terrible, how mysterious!" Yes, how mysterious. It makes me think of good honest Father Valuy whose old-fashioned book, *A Guide for Priests*, I first read some twenty-five or thirty years ago. "Mystery?" he said to those who were lamenting the decay of the Faith in France. "Mystery? I will tell you the mystery. Forty thousand priests in France and Christianity languishing in France. There is the real mystery!"

How many Catholic orators and preachers have we not heard lamenting that millions of Americans have no religious belief? I, for one, since 1897 have been listening to priests and prelates telling the people, as Bishop Conaty told us students in Brighton Seminary in that year that Protestantism was dead and that it had been succeeded by rank unbelief. I think they meant Protestantism of the old "orthodox" type recognizable to Wesley or Luther or Calvin. I am not now disposed to argue over that diagnosis (or was it an autopsy?). What needs attention and emphasis is not the passing of Protestantism or the growth of atheism, but the inactivity of Catholicism when confronted with these problems.

I hope no zealous priest will here become indignant and write to inform me how hard he is working, how many confessions he hears on the first Thursday and how many hundreds of thousands of Communions he distributes per annum, and that no devout energetic layman or woman will send me a catalogue of the good deeds done and being done by our religious societies. I know all that—at least I have a vague comprehension of the various activities of Catholic bodies in America. And perhaps I may be pardoned if I say that for thirty years I have tried to do my own little stint. But the overwhelming fact remains that Catholic Action in a Big Way hasn't been inaugurated amongst us. Under the recent goading of the Holy Father and the hierarchy, we are indeed stirring in our sleep, twisting uneasily from side to side, but we are not yet awake.

Our "Marvelous Organization"

Must I repeat that I speak in view of our possibilities and opportunities? We get credit for having

a "marvelous organization." That is the usual phrase selected by friendly outsiders who wish to say something pleasant about the Catholic Church and by others not so friendly who wish to explain and discount our achievements. True, we have the organization and the numbers. But are we accomplishing what might be expected from 20 millions working in harmony under enlightened guidance? Were our spirit and courage worthy of our organization, were we in fact such a marvel of cohesion and cooperation as friends and enemies both believe us to be, we could recreate the social and moral atmosphere of this nation: we could, with the Holy Spirit, renew the face of the earth. And yet we have to lament that sin and crime and even degeneracy grow like cancers under our eyes and in spite of us. For example: we are, as all the world knows, the greatest and perhaps the only organized enemy of divorce and birth control, yet these twin scourges have been sweeping unchecked across the country in the last two generations almost as if we did not exist, or—like the rest of the population—did not care. Statistics in regard to these domestic catastrophes grow annually more and more appalling. All our preaching and all our protest seem to have little or no effect. We keep our own people in line—to a degree—but is that all that can be demanded of a "marvelous organization" built by Divine Hands and directed by the ever present Holy Spirit?

So too, in regard to "graft" in business and in politics. It has increased monstrously until we are told that its ramifications great and small are to be found almost everywhere. Business is infested with corrupt practices and politics is rotten as of old. "Rackets" thrive, criminals detected and undetected laugh at the law; theatrical entertainment grows more indecent with every season; the undress of women becomes more and more startling until it has all but reached the ultimate (indeed if the new abomination of nudism is anything but a momentary aberration, it *has* reached the ultimate); education has become thoroughly pagan in spite of our ambitious and costly effort to offset or direct it; immoralistic philosophies exotic and indigenous, thrive; periodical literature, monthly, weekly and daily has become to all intents and purposes largely pornographic—but why continue this familiar catalogue of the evils that afflict the nation? You read the indictment of our age in every issue of the Catholic papers, you hear it from the pulpit, the platform, the radio, at banquet and commencement exercises, in episcopal pastorals, at K. of C. conventions, in every place where Catholics gather. Every one of us cries, "Woe! Woe! Woe! Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed!" Not that the charges are untrue or the lamentations unwarranted. In fact we tell not all that we know but as much as we dare.

But What Impress Upon the World?

But the question in hand is this: how have these evils grown so prodigiously in spite of us, indeed almost as if we were not here? What impression have we made on the social and moral life of America? Is it at all commensurate with our numbers, our traditions, our victories in former ages, our conviction of the mystical identity of the Church with Christ, the Savior of the race? I say the world is running away from us, or worse still, running away *with* us. And all this is happening while we alternately bewail the passing of the "good old days" and both of the achievements of the all powerful Church in apostolic times or in the thirteenth century or in the days of the Renaissance. If we had great influence upon civilization then, why not now? If we made over the debased Roman Empire of St. Paul's day into the *Civitas Dei* of St. Augustine's, if we succeeded in the Augean task of cleaning up Corinth and Ephesus and Athens and Rome, are we to confess that London and Paris and New York are too much for us? If when we were young and small we depaganized a whole world, from Lyons in the west to Edessa in the east, and from Abyssinia to Scotland, is the modern United States of America too big a job for us to tackle now that we are big and strong and "marvelously organized"? Somewhere lately I read the phrase "the essentially revolutionary character of the Christian religion." It's a good phrase, and if correctly understood it is true. Christianity has turned the world upside down and inside out half a dozen times. Why not now once again?

Great in Years Gone By

These and many more thoughts and questions chased through my brain that Sunday night after I had listened for a minute or two to the atheist in Columbus Circle, and if I found it hard to sleep

that hot night it was not so much the temperature but the interior agitation that was to blame.

Of one thing I am convinced—and the conviction did not come that night for the first time—we cannot do our job in this world if we remain safe and sound, easy and comfortable in the sanctuary. Who was it that quoted recently the advice of an old ecclesiastic to a young priest, "Don't get outside the breastworks!" The very word "breastworks" dated the old gentleman. Nowadays it is not breastworks but trenches, and if we don't leap out of our trenches, cross no-man's land and carry the war into the devil's territory, by what right shall we continue to style ourselves the Church Militant? A phrase is going the rounds nowadays amongst those eager souls who have grown impatient with Catholic lethargy—"the Church Dormant!" When did the fighting Church get the divine command to lay down her arms and go to sleep behind the "breastworks"?

Atheism does not slumber or sleep. When a demagogue on a barrel head in the open street, sweating and steaming, shouting against the noise of trolley cars—and of occasional passing fire engines—with the thermometer standing at 90 after a midday heat of 98, holds an audience of a thousand listening to a denial of the existence of God, it would seem time for the clergy to come out of the sacristy. As for the laity, they must get rid of the idea that the army of the Church like the army in a Latin-American republic is composed entirely of generals.

"Catholic Action!" is a good battle cry, but a battle cry without a battle is like a college cheer rehearsed in a hall. The day of the big game has arrived, and it is not an indoor game; it is in fact not a game but a battle, and battles are fought not in barracks but on land and sea and in the air. We've got to get out there where the atheists are. If we don't, they will come in here where we are.



The New Atheism

By DAN W. GILBERT

Condensed from
The Catholic World (June, 1934)

The writer of this brief analysis is Dan Gilbert, a militant young Catholic whose book "Crucifying Christ in Our Colleges" has been included in the bibliography on Communism and Atheism. In that revealing case book of actual experiences he records what he and several collaborators found in the various universities in which they enrolled as students. There is a steady assault on the very idea of God now being carried on in numerous colleges and universities. The effect on student minds is described with stark reality.

PUBLIC opinion, unfortunately, can do little about the man who says in his heart, "There is no God"; but it is quick and sure in its censure and condemnation of him who denies God out loud.

The old atheism—the blatant, blasphemous, albeit honest and forthright, atheism which brazenly and openly flaunted its disbelief in God—is dead. But in its place has arisen a new atheism disguised under euphemistic and misleading names; a new atheism which never openly reveals its purpose and never ceases secretly pursuing it; a new atheism which never denies God directly, and never stops denying Him indirectly, insidiously, but none the less thoroughly. The method and the effect of the new atheism is to deny God piecemeal, to annihilate Him by degrees—that is, to divest Him *progressively* of the very attributes which make Him God. The process is accomplished so painlessly, and yet so thoroughly, that many a devout believer had been stripped of all belief in God. Indeed, such a victim of the new atheism, with whom we are all familiar, will indignantly deny that he has lost all belief in God. He will affirm with due solemnity and deep reverence that he believes in "life struggling to realize itself in perfect love," in "the sum total of natural laws," in "the integrating process of the universe," in "the principle of purposiveness inherent in matter," in "the totality of the higher social and moral impulses."

Perhaps he does believe in any or all of these things, but these things are *not* God, and to call them God is nothing more or less than a reversion to the childhood practice of calling a rubber doll a real, living baby. Imagine praying to "the sum total of natural laws!"

The attribute of which the new atheism most persistently and insistently robs God is that of personality.

This device of denying God by reducing Him to human dimensions, of denying His infinite goodness by identifying it with the meager, adulterated good-

ness of man, of denying His omnipotence by asserting that He is one with weak and struggling humanity, of denying His supernatural power and attributes by asserting that He cannot transcend the natural—in a word, this sacrilegious dethronement of God from the heavens, and this pagan reconstruction of the Infinite God in the image of man, is a most effective method of the new atheism.

Whether God be reduced to a creature or creation of man, or whether He be regarded as a spirit, symbol, or personification of certain activities and qualities of man, human self-worship is the inevitable result. If God is identical with our higher social impulses, we cannot worship Him without at the same time worshiping ourselves. If He is our own better selves, then there is no difference whatever between worship of God and worship of ourselves.

Men may imagine that in humanizing God they raise their own stature; but in reality it is not so. Rather, the opposite holds true: to humanize God means to brutalize man; to reduce God from the Infinite to a mere symbol for the higher social impulses is a greater degradation in degree but not in kind than to reduce man to a soulless beast from the status of a child of the Infinite God, made in His image and possessed of an immortal soul.

If we must have atheism, let us have naked, outright, downright atheism, and not this new deceptive, doubly blasphemous variety. The old atheism was honest; it was forthright, it met the issue squarely and for the most part it fought fairly. Christianity, theism, had little to fear from it. The old atheism was like a plague; it could be located, diagnosed, and combated. The new atheism is a mysterious, confusing cancerous growth. Devout believers have the very roots of their belief in God eaten away.

The new atheism denies the existence of the God Who is "a spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in His being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth."

The Abolition of God

By A UNIVERSITY STUDENT

The Catholic World
Sept., 1934

“**H**OW many in this room believe in God?” Laughing, the professor counts upraised hands. “Fewer every year,” he smiles, “perhaps the new entrance requirements, or is it evolution?”

Suddenly he turns serious: “I advise those of you who believe in God and wish to retain that belief, to leave this room immediately and not return. I can assure you from past experience that few who finish this course retain illusions of a Supreme Being.”

Freshmen from Catholic high schools are startled by this classroom greeting of a great State university. Smiling and anxious, gay and bewildered, they have pored over time schedules and catalogues, triumphantly completed the last signature in the swirl of crowded faces that marked the registration room. Then, rushed, dazzled, dazed by the preschool social whirl, they meet the challenge of modern materialism in their first university hour.

In a hundred public institutions of higher education similar scenes occur each Fall. Catholic, Protestant and Jew these students start, but if the collegiate program succeeds they emerge as atheists or agnostics. In the words of one speaker: “You enter here handicapped by superstitions and a false outlook on life. In your freshman year you should rid yourself of these barriers to a successful career.” Cleverly launched this first veiled attack of Freshman Week is the advance wave of a campaign that will attempt to destroy student belief in religion and high ideals.

Surprised and shocked after their first class, Catholics gather in little knots outside the doors, or voice opinions as they stroll together across the campus. Puzzled, they wonder how anyone can doubt the idea of God, a truth they have accepted as far back as memory goes. But as time flows on they hear the same tale in every class, on the campus, in fraternity and sorority houses; from a world of belief they have plunged into a chaos of doubt. Vaguely troubled, they greet with glad assurance the familiar, unchanging ritual of the Mass; choir, incense, the splendor of the Eternal Sacrifice, quiet fear as they rejoice in their faith. But on Monday they return to school. Again the tide of materialism and agnosticism, atheism and fatalism, floods their consciousness; every speaker, every hour, the same tale pours forth. Eager, easily impressed, they hear all religion slashed to shreds by

clever lectures in psychology, sociology, history and philosophy.

If they believe these glib casuists who overthrow free will, soul, mind and instincts, students are bound to accept the fatalism which accompanies the acknowledgment only of material things. Their personal responsibility is removed—each undergraduate accepting this convenient doctrine feels himself merely the football of cosmic forces. At a time when the passions of youth are firing their blood, Catholics see the doors flung open in fantastic freedom. Constant erotic stimulation, surplus of money and cars, easy-to-get liquor and the new free philosophy, all avalanche against the barriers of morals. Mocking voices shout the agnostic’s prayer: “O God, if there be a god, save my Soul, if I have a soul.” While the current code runs: “Drink and dance, youth is short and life is long.” After the dance cars are parked in the darkness miles from town—silver flasks, swift flame of youth . . .

White rats and red lights, bells, gongs, snakes, rabbits and dials form not a stage show as it might seem, but a modern psychological laboratory. Freed from its original Greek meaning,—study of the soul,—psychology to-day abandons both study and soul and revolves madly in a squirrel cage of experimentation and observation. Struggling desperately, objective psychology is trying to establish itself as firmly on a scientific basis as the physical sciences. It must have intricate equipment, machines measuring in sigmas (thousandths of a second); it must not be armchair speculation, but a scientific study of human behavior. If biology has its microscopes and physics its micrometers, then psychology has its pneumographs, mazes and whatnots. Complicated formulas, rules, laws and a mumbo-jumbo of technical terms give it prestige and place it on the lofty plane of the ununderstandable.

Baiting the trap diabolically, psychologists appeal to the idealism of Catholic students by a challenge to seek the truth. “We are scientists—truthseekers—whatever we can observe and check we accept,” say the professors. “But we can consider only facts, checked observations and duplicable experiments. This at once eliminates religion and similar supernatural superstitions, for we can have no contact with an unseen, unknowable super-world; seeking facts we are limited to material things. There is no soul, there is no mind—such things are feeble explanations, idle vaporings of savages carried over

into a scientific civilization where they are incongruous as ox-carts. Free will is another daydream; our body is only physical and there is nothing supernatural connected with it. A baby is born, and immediately the internal forces of his body and the external stimuli of the world start to elicit behavior; with his responses so conditional, the idea of free will is a myth because he acts in obedience to the strongest internal or external forces stimulating him. The same conclusions apply to adults; their present actions are the conditioned results of all the stimuli which have acted on their bodies since birth."

Catholics must accept this hodgepodge and write it down in examinations to pass the course. No student, answering according to orthodox Catholic theology, can achieve a decent grade in this study of behaviorism founded on the mechanistic concept. He must forget what he knows and write what he does not believe if psychology is a necessary step toward his degree, as it is for a majority of undergraduates. If he does accept the principles of behaviorism and mechanism, he is no longer a Catholic, for this system precludes good or bad, sin or salvation, hell or heaven, God or the devil.

With the war cry of "fewer and better babies," sociology continues the work of psychology, accepting behaviorism and mechanism as fundamentals in studying the family and social background. All phases of marriage from promiscuity to monogamy are discussed, and birth control is advocated as the only logical solution to present economic difficulties. Religion is tolerated as an influence and opiate for the working classes. "To succeed to-day," says the instructor in sociology, "it is necessary to be a first class hypocrite." Meaning that a man should have sense enough not to believe any religion, but also sufficient tact to profess the right kind for the commercial and social advantages that it will give him. This is spoken of as the higher hypocrisy.

Later, the teacher says: "No educated man believes in a god; agnosticism is the only creed compatible with modern science." Monogamous marriage is derided as a tribal hangover from older days. "The conception of premarital purity comes from times when women were sold and a virgin brought a higher price; to-day it is better if both sexes have experience before marriage," he states as Catholic sons and daughters listen. "Why should you of the modern age be governed by ancient and well buried customs? The Ten Commandments are merely the *mores* of a tribe of desert nomads who lived thousands of years ago. To-day look to science for your guide; leave superstition to savages." Democracy is laughed out of court as a gaudy and corrupt joke surpassed only by capitalism, while the social and economic trends of Soviet Russia are eulogized as progressive. "America is a plutocracy,

and probably the best rule is by an aristocracy of wealth and intelligence; the ignorant masses should have no control over government."

Frankly pagan love poems are studied in literature; the immorality of the authors is vaunted, defended, flung into the face of impressionable youth; sarcasms and sideswipes at religion and theology are edged in as comments by the instructor. The gay Cavalier poets with their philosophy of "gather ye rosebuds while ye may," are emphasized. Illegitimacy and light amours stud the lectured biographies while the class fidgets in embarrassed silence. Protests are ridiculed, apparently on the ground of "to the pure all things are pure," therefore objectors must have dirty little minds. This tag was pinned to one girl who had the courage to state that she had enrolled to study the authors' written works, not their private indiscretions. Few students complain; this course is a requirement for the majority and they must have these credits to graduate.

Interest is given high place in composition, and themes advocating free love, atheism, birth control and communism get an "A," other things being equal. The following extract is from a composition read to an English class as a model, and written by a student who received the highest possible grade for the course:

"Think of the freshman as he comes to college, encased in a glistening cocoon of ignorance and superstition. Perhaps it would be better if he continued to live ignorant of actualities, safe and secure within his castle. Why should he learn there is no god; that love, honor, virtue and patriotism are mere rationalizations of selfishness; that nothing is worth believing and truth an empty name; that when we die, we die like dogs? The silken shroud of ignorance is torn; the castle tumbles down. The soul is free of superstition; it can seek the blue flame of truth. We forget, there is no soul, and truth is but a myth."

This student has evidently assimilated the education offered.

As class views are predominantly modern, old-fashioned ideas stir vehement disapproval or cynical smiles when essays are read for criticism. Constant pressure molds individuals to the common level of a group drunk with new-found freedom, acclaiming irreligion and skepticism. The bewildered freshman finds nothing to replace the old moral supports jerked from under his feet. Classes in public speaking follow the same groove. Original speeches find favor—original, meaning something that attacks the existing order. "Any person believing in God," thunders the instructor, "is living in the fifteenth century, not the twentieth!" In his milder moments he advocates fatalism and suicide.

Economics and political science are comparatively harmless; after the narcotic stimulation of other

classes, students find government and finance dry. The novel theistic trinity of stock market, bank and sacred dollar absorbs the attentive adulation of economists to the exclusion of any human values existent in the dynamic flow of life. Materialism, prevalent in other studies, crystallizes here in the web of industrial and financial processes. History, economically viewed, gives the lie to any noble or just cause for which men have died. What were the Crusades?—"a camouflage for the European exploitation of Asia." What is the Bible?—"a forged collection of grotesque tales mixed with the tribal history of the Jews." Catholic claims of divine origin are overruled by the view that the Church was the inevitable result of social forces released by the disintegration of the Roman empire.

Philosophy and ethics, twin *enfants terrible*, are usually restricted to sophomores or upperclassmen. Catalogue listings give a clear picture of the two. "Introduction to Social Ethics. 'Social ideals and problems, with special emphasis upon the opposition of democracy and aristocracy in government, industry, law, art and religion.'" Democracy, as usual, is vanquished. "Philosophy of Religion. 'The religious experience: the origin, nature . . . types of religion . . . effect on individual happiness and morality . . . social aspects . . . the religion of democracy . . . mystical experiences . . . existence of God . . . basis of faith, pessimism, human destiny . . . discussion of agnosticism.'" The swift process savors of mass production and an assembly line: as the students pass on a moving belt, the instructor removes certain beliefs and injects others, deftly tightens an opinion or idea—keeps the output constant and uniform. A real tragedy lies in the fact that after being stripped of stabilizing moralities, students are left to wander without guidance on the bleak plains of agnostic speculation.

From all these directing influences, the Catholic is supposed to derive an attitude, a scientific outlook toward his former beliefs. In brief, an effort is made to give students this viewpoint: "Religion arose in the childhood of the race as an attempt of man to correlate natural phenomena which he did not understand, certain leaders making the explanation in supernatural terms which were accepted. A class of medicine men, or priests, grew up adding to and building this supernatural world for their own profit. Tribal leaders, seeing a better method of controlling their followers, joined the priests. Thus religion, and the alliance of Church and State, were born. However, to-day we can explain similar occurrences in natural terms, so we no longer need a supernatural world of ghosts." To quote the sociology professor: "God is no longer necessary; we have outgrown this primitive conception." Having destroyed respect for religion by assigning savage ignorance as its base, instructors

next attempt to show that religion is fading as the sands of superstition on which it rests are swept away. "Every year science pushes the boundaries of the supernatural farther back. To-day belief in demoniac possession and other crude fantasies has been routed by the advance of psychology. Religions evolve from polytheism to monotheism and finally to atheism, but as the idea of God can neither be proven nor disproven, educated men are limited to agnosticism."

Efforts are made to convince students that they belong to a higher group, the aristocracy of intelligence; some need little convincing. Then they are shown it is mostly workers, members of the lowest group, who believe the fairy tales of religion. "At six you abandoned Santa Claus, at twelve you lost faith in the stork, to-day you should discard the relics of religion." To obtain credence for the material value of disbelief, statistics are quoted showing that the majority of men in *Who's Who* do not accept Christianity. From a mimeographed sheet passed out at the end of a course: "Religion . . . setting final seal of approval on pecuniary success . . . adoption by Churches of the latest devices . . . too close to the obscene." Such is the attitude the leaders of to-morrow, and Catholic students, are trained to hold.

"Forget your Catholic theology completely if you are going to take that course, and absorb the lectures. Remember what you hear, and answer your examinations accordingly. Then, when you have finished the course, forget it and resume your Catholic viewpoint." This is an actual bit of advice given by a fraternity man to a new member of his house. Necessity for the warning was indicated by the fact that four Catholics in that fraternity did not attend Mass that Sunday; their temporary forgetting of Catholic teaching had become permanent. Cautioned on every hand, students still lightly regard classroom dangers. Catholics listen skeptically at first to lectures; consider them nonsense. Then they begin to wonder if it is nonsense and are caught by the illusion of rationalism . . .

Unhappy ghosts, once Catholics, drift around the campus. Accepting this pseudo-science, they no longer believe in anything supernatural. Even if they could, they would be in the position of that Frenchman, a former Catholic, who was asked if he planned to enter another Church. "I may have lost my faith," he answered icily, "but not my reason." No longer believing in good or evil, these students see no advantage in any particular action; why work hard, they think, when in the end you die like a cow? Love is sensuality and friendship fraud to them; with a credo of selfishness and an idol of pleasure they are disillusioned hedonists racing furiously to the maggots. Laughing at religious super-

stition and worshipping the superstitions of science, pathetically all dressed up, they have no place to go and no reason for going there. Like ghosts, they drift.

To counteract these influences there are only occasional meetings or the weekly discussion of the Newman Club. For two reasons these efforts fail: lack of attendance, and lack of vital matter in the talks. At one university with 500 Catholic students, 200 belong to the club, but only 10 or 20, or from 2 to 4 per cent of the Catholics in school, attend the instructions. Lack of time and pressure of outside activities are the reasons advanced for absence; these are hardly logical. The real cause is that students feel no contact with their problems; the talks deal with theological questions proper and valuable in their place, but unadapted to the present difficulties of Catholic students. Discussions of the

Sacraments, Lenten regulations and Indulgences do not help them in meeting the arguments of materialism and behaviorism, so they do not attend.

True, there are at some secular universities priests lecturing to Catholic students, fighting against classroom agnosticism, showing its fallacy and explaining the stand of the Church, but trying to save the faith of Catholic students in State universities is like lowering a rope to a man in a lion's den. There are dozens of Catholic colleges in the United States, well-equipped to give the sons and daughters of Catholic parents a fine education while safeguarding their faith. Any Catholic father who sends his children to a secular college not only breaks the laws of his Church, but is himself responsible if his son returns a cynical atheist and his daughter graduates a practicing advocate of free love.

COMMENT

Read "Crucifying Christ in Our Colleges," by Dan Gilbert, for a detailed description of actual cases. This book is catalogued in the bibliography at the end of this collection.

What College Did to My Religion

By PHILIP E. WENTWORTH

Atlantic Monthly
June, 1932

This revealing confession of a Harvard graduate who was born a Presbyterian is a fair sample of the product of much modern education. Though obviously, a Catholic educator will disagree with many of the incidental remarks, he cannot be indifferent to the challenge which this article contains.

TO SAY that college does something to the average student's religion is to state a truth which will be conceded by anyone who has given the matter a moment's thought. Nine young men and women out of every ten who will receive their degrees this June would probably admit, if they were called to testify, that education has acted as a poison to their faith. In many instances the virus generated by the reasoning processes induces only a mild distemper of skepticism, but in others it works like an acid, eating its way into the bump of credulity until in the end this estimable organ is completely corroded. Devout parents and clergymen have frequently observed this phenomenon and deplored it. When they discuss it, however, as they often do, they betray a common failure to understand the intellectual chemistry which has produced this wholesale apostasy of the younger generation.

In these pages I propose to show how higher education reacts upon faith by describing my own religious crisis just as it occurred while I was in college. At the time, I had good reason to sift my doubts with unusual care. When I entered Harvard in the fall of 1924, I was not only a Christian, I was also an avowed candidate for the ministry. Then for four years I underwent a process of mental readjustment which shook my little world to its foundations. Through it all only one thing was clear to me: if I could reconcile religion with intelligence, I knew that I knew that I could go on into my chosen career fortified by the experience; if I could not, every consideration of honor would compel me to make other plans. In the end I gave up the ministry.

Because my crisis was so acute, I know what fundamental questions underlie the intellectual reorientation which has become an inevitable part of the college curriculum for every thinking student. From my own experience I can demonstrate why it is that education so often spells the end of orthodoxy.

I.

The environment in which I grew up was that of the typical middle-class American home just after the turn of the century. Queen Victoria had been dead five years when I came into the world, but her spirit lived on and was the tutelary genius of my childhood and youth.

I was born a good Presbyterian, and, fittingly

enough, predestination played an important rôle in my early life. Both of my parents were gentle, unaffected, devoted Christians, and my father was an elder in the church. We lived in a small city of the Middle West, on the fringe of what H. L. Mencken calls "the Bible Belt." Long before I could be aware of it myself, the double accident of parentage and geography had shaped me for the service of God.

Our neighborhood was made up of families like mine. All social life was centred in the church and its activities. Our minister, who was an intimate friend of the family, was an upright old Scotsman, a living monument to all the Christian virtues. He had served our parish almost as long as anybody could remember, and his never-failing kindness and charity made him universally beloved.

My earliest distinct recollection is of family prayers. This was a regular feature of our daily life. After supper we would retire to the library, where my father, with wife and children gathered about him, would read a chapter from the Scriptures. Psalms and Proverbs were his favorite books, and he repeated them so often that I soon knew them by heart. After the reading came prayers, during which each little event of the day would be rehearsed and we would give thanks to God for all the good things we had enjoyed.

It was natural that a child brought up in such a home should early come to think of the God who ruled over it, whose presence was so imminently felt in every department of daily life, as one of his most intimate acquaintances. He was very real, this God of my childhood; as real as my father, and in fact, quite like him. There was nothing sinister about Him, nothing to incite fear—except, of course, when I disobeyed Him. He was merely the head of the world as my father was head of our household. The ways of both were often inscrutable to me, but I never doubted their ultimate wisdom and their concern for my own good.

By the time I came to the age of reason the system under which I had grown up had implanted in my mind certain clear ideas about the universe and my place in it. The world was created by God as a laboratory for testing human beings. In the Bible He had revealed His commandments, which were distinct, direct, and admitted of no argument. Obedience to these injunctions was virtue, disobedience

sin. The one meant honor and happiness and life everlasting; the other was the way of shame and disgrace in this world, and led to eternal torments in the world to come.

God, however, was more than a moralist. He was also an engineer. The world which He had fashioned was not an automatic mechanism. It had been set going in the beginning by its Creator, and He, like a good mechanic, had been tinkering with it ever since. The forces that moved it were direct manifestations of His power. "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth His handywork." If He could save men from their sins, He could also protect them against accidents, diseases, and the shafts of their enemies. Faith and good works, then, were not only the way of the soul's salvation, they were also the best kind of insurance against the stings of fortune while one lived.

These religious concepts were laid down in the Scriptures and were supported by a kind of evidence in everyday life. God was constantly being moved by the prayers of the just to repeat in our day the miracles He had performed in ancient times. Everyone who had eyes could see it for himself. Did not our pastor often intercede for the recovery of the sick, and did they not usually get well? Did he not pray every Sunday that the President of the United States would be given wisdom to lead the affairs of the nation, and was not our prosperity the manifest answer? It was all very simple and all very right, and surely the way of the transgressor was hard.

But, you say, these were the ideas of a child. True, and the child got them from his parents, who shared them item by item with the neighbors, who held the same beliefs in common with one hundred million other people in all the Middletowns of America.

II.

It would hardly be possible to exaggerate the importance of a wonder-working God in this Christian scheme of things which I took for granted with the air I breathed. Innumerable stories from the Bible, moreover, indicate that such a Deity was also taken for granted by every one of the Scriptural heroes from Adam down to John of Patmos. Through all the centuries of religious history this idea has persisted, which would seem to indicate that a God who kicks over the traces of natural law and upsets the normal sequence of cause and effect occupies an important place—if not, indeed, the central place—in Christian cosmology.

I am well aware that in certain churches to-day even the clergy are disposed to pass lightly over the miracles. This tendency, however, is wholly confined to the more liberal churches, whose communicants are sophisticated people. Such parishes are not really representative of Christianity, for the obvious reason that their members are not representa-

tive of the rank and file of humanity. Sophisticated folk, if they go to church at all, tend to do it as a matter of form and fashion; they are moved by no strong convictions.

To find the original God of Christianity still resplendent in all His glory, still hurling His thunderbolts and making no concessions to rationalism, one should go preferably to a Roman Catholic Church—to the shrine, say, of Saint Anne de Beaupré or Our Lady of Lourdes. There one comes into the awful presence of a real God, who heals the sick, gives sight to the blind, makes the crippled walk, rewards the just, damns the wicked, and in all the vicissitudes of life is able to give tangible evidence of His power in answer to prayer. And the same Deity, less colorful, perhaps, but no less real, will be found among the Baptists, the Lutherans, the Methodists, the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, and every other sect of Protestantism.

This was the God of my childhood. And He still reigns in undimmed majesty over the lives of millions, whose supplications continue to move Him just as effectively as they did in the days of Abraham. Here, for example, is a testimonial taken from the *Chicago Tribune* of August 28 last:—

The steeple of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, at 2330 North Halsted Street, was struck by lightning and set afire. One hundred and seventy-five theological students, residents of a near-by dormitory, rushed into the street in a downpour of rain to help the firemen fight the blaze. Dr. John Timothy Stone, president of the Seminary, heard the crash when the steeple was struck. He rushed out into the storm and called upon the students who were helping to fight the blaze to pray. Dr. Stone and his students knelt on the rain-soaked grass and offered a prayer for the safety of the building. The firemen were unable to get into the steeple, and by the time they had raised a fire tower and trained a hose on the fire an hour later the rain had put out the blaze.

It is hardly necessary to point out that Dr. Stone's action was entirely consistent with his beliefs as a good Presbyterian. In his moment of danger he did what every religious man or woman does instinctively under similar circumstances: he appealed to the wonder-working God who presides over the Christian universe. And I dare say the good Doctor has already used the incident to point the moral in some stirring sermon.

I emphasize the importance of this God of magic because He is the source of most of the difficulties with which the churches now find themselves beset. They cannot give Him up and remain Christian; they cannot keep Him and retain the loyalty of educated people. It is a critical dilemma indeed. I was soon to face it in my own life, but at the time of which I write I had no suspicion that it existed.

III

I arrived at the age of eighteen comfortably adjusted to the Christian universe in which all

things work together for good to them that love God. The example set by my family, and indeed by the entire community in which we lived, convinced me of the truth and justice of the divine plan. As I began to think seriously of what I should do with my life, everything pointed to the ministry as the ideal solution. Christian living was the way of happiness. And what better use could any man make of his powers than to devote them to the propagation of truth, so that others who had been denied it might be led to share its beneficent effects? The decision hardly called for conscious effort.

So in due course I went before the Presbytery of the church, where, to the delight of my parents, I was accepted as a candidate for the ministry. The church to which we belonged published a little quarterly, and the next issue carried my picture with this word of explanation: "Philip E. Wentworth, who came before Presbytery last spring, will start his college work this fall preparatory to entering the Christian ministry."

The question was: What college? Without going into the detailed considerations that influenced my judgment in this matter, suffice it to say that I finally settled upon Harvard. My father was not a college graduate, but he was bent on giving me the advantages of formal education which he had lacked, and he was satisfied to leave the choice to me. But I met unexpected resistance when I sought the advice of our pastor.

He was uneasy when he learned that I was thinking of going to Harvard. Of course it was a fine university, but the Unitarians had smirched it. He reminded me that the Unitarian Church was the only Protestant denomination from which transfers of membership were not freely accepted by the Presbyterians. Before a Unitarian could be welcomed into our communion he had to be closely examined, for the title of his sect was a denial of the Trinity. Harvard, the minister said, had been the Sorbonne of Unitarianism, and I should run a grave risk of learning false doctrine if I went there.

Instead of flying in the face of Providence, I should do better, he said, to consider his own college. It was a small institution in Missouri, founded and supervised by the synod of our church. It had educated many eminent Presbyterian ministers. I could go there knowing that I should be safe from all the insidious temptations of rationalism.

He urged me eloquently, but I stood my ground. When I went before Presbytery I had sworn allegiance to truth, and I did not think it would prove to be as frail a vessel as the good dominie's counsel implied. I suspected that it might turn out, on closer acquaintance, to be a little too broad to fit into any narrow creed. I was not primarily interested in dogma anyhow. Sufficient unto the seminary would be the evils thereof. First, I would widen my gen-

eral knowledge. Then, even if it should be necessary to modify some of my doctrines, I felt certain that the fundamental verities of religion would remain impregnable.

So to Harvard I went. On a September evening in 1924, I called to say good-bye to the old minister, who, throughout his long friendship with the family, had been almost a second father to me. In the quiet of his study he knelt beside me and offered up a fervent petition to God to make me diligent in the pursuit of truth. Dear, faithful soul! Within a year he was dead and was spared the pain of learning that his parting prayer was being answered—in a sense the irony of which he could never have understood.

IV

Before I went to college I was thoroughly at home in a universe which revolved about the central figure of an omnipotent Deity. In Cambridge I was suddenly plunged into another world. I found myself breathing a wholly different atmosphere. My teachers spoke a new language; their words were familiar enough, but the import of them was strange to me. It was essentially a difference in attitude and point of view.

The change was first brought home to me in the study of history. To my mind the rise of Christianity out of the ashes of imperial Rome had seemed the material evidence of a transcendental truth—a revelation of the hand of God at work in the affairs of men. Not so to my professors. All events in history were manifestations of cause and effect operating upon the natural level. The institutions of society evolved according to orderly processes. Religion was itself subject to these processes. I shall never forget one lecture which traced the evolution of God—from the fierce, bloodthirsty Yahweh, tribal Deity of a few Semitic nomads, through successive stages until He finally emerged in the New Testament as the gentle, merciful, forgiving Father of all mankind.

In the course of time the impact of new knowledge, and especially knowledge of science and the scientific method, wrought great havoc with my original ideas. All things, it seemed, were subject to the laws of nature. This concept supplied my mind with a wholly new pattern into which my religious beliefs refused to fit. In such an orderly universe there seemed to be no place for a wonder-working God. He would be an outlaw, unthinkable and impossible. The bottom dropped out of my world, and I wrestled with myself in a futile attempt to patch it up.

What, then, about morals? Without an omnipotent Deity to reward virtue and punish evil, was "the good life" only an illusion? I could not believe it, yet I could think of no satisfactory answer. Life had lost its meaning. I was desolate.

Perhaps, though, I could still rehabilitate God by setting Him up as the First Cause—the moving power behind natural law. But there was small comfort in this thought. A God who had created the world and then left it to govern itself by natural law had hedged Himself about by barriers through which even He could not break. Prayers could not move Him. Though He might exist, He could not be of service to man. Obviously such a God would be too remote, too inaccessible, for the purposes of religion.

I saw, too, that the Modernists were troubled by these same difficulties. In their haste to strike up a compromise with the intellectuals, they were trying hard to make a self-respecting Deity out of the nebulous What-Is-It of Eddington and Millikan. It seemed to me that they had fallen between two stools. I studied philosophy and read further about this First Cause. Then I began to marvel at the disingenuousness of the human mind when, unable to imagine how the world began, but demanding some explanation of the inexplicable, it can arbitrarily select three letters from the alphabet and call *g-o-d* an answer. I preferred to think that we know more about such matters when we admit we know nothing than when we resort to such palpable self-deception.

While I was debating these problems so basic to my religious beliefs, the controversy between Fundamentalists and Modernists was coming to a head, and the impending Scopes trial in Tennessee was shocking the conscience of thoughtful men everywhere. These events helped to clarify my thinking. I saw that the battle had been joined between religion and intelligence. Was faith, then, simply a defense of ignorance, a substitute for thinking?

In the summer of 1925, I followed the proceedings at Dayton with intense interest, and one aspect of the dispute over evolution struck me particularly. Learned scientists and liberal clergymen were brought to testify for the defense. Their evidence was not admitted at the trial, as I recall it, but all of them gave out statements to the press, and they were unanimous in saying that there was no real conflict between religion and science. This struck me as a downright evasion of the issue. The quarrel was not between religion and science in the abstract. The pious legislators of Tennessee had taken it upon themselves to protect one specific and clearly stated postulate of Christianity against the equally concrete and definite theory of evolution. What was the conflict here?

The controversy raged, as everyone knows, over the first chapter of Genesis. Now why should reli-

gious folk set such store by that text? In explaining how the world was created in six days, the story of Genesis clearly established God in the central conning tower of the universe and conferred upon Him the omnipotent powers He needed to control the mechanism. Thus it affirmed the first great postulate of Christianity: An all-powerful God rules over the world of His creation. But that is not all. From this premise is derived a corollary of the first importance to religion: Man is dependent for his safety in this world and his salvation in the next upon the God who made him.

Here, then, is the religious significance of the Biblical story of creation. The lawmakers of Tennessee maintained, therefore, that the story was fundamental to Christianity, and in this it would appear that they were better theologians (however tenuous their claim to greatness in the law) than the liberal clergymen who tried to refute them. For the Christian religion rests in large part upon the foundation of those assumptions laid down in the first chapter of Genesis.¹ The moral code is directly derived from the special relationship there established between God and man.

Now what happens to this nicely rationalized system of religious beliefs when scientific notions are superimposed upon them? The God of Christianity becomes enclosed in a circle of natural law from which He cannot escape. He is deprived of His freedom to interfere with the normal sequence of cause and effect. He is no longer able to play the rôle of Cosmic Policeman, meting out vengeance and punishment to evildoers and offering protection and rewards to the just. The elaborate sanctions which religion has built up to enforce its code vanish into thin air.

Thus, in the field of action, a conflict of primary importance is set up between Christianity and scientific ideas. Mystic rites, sacrifice, supplication, and prayer are typical modes of religious behavior, and they are conditioned by religious beliefs. People who have oriented themselves to a scientific universe go about their affairs in other ways. Dr. John Timothy Stone and the firemen approached their common problem differently.

Having reached these conclusions, I realized that if I was to continue to believe in the good life I should have to look beyond the teachings of orthodoxy for my reasons. The supernatural had become meaningless. No longer able to lean upon the gods, I must learn to stand alone.

V

It so happened that I stayed in the East each summer vacation and had not been home since I first entered Harvard as a freshman. Meanwhile, I had written innumerable letters to my parents acquainting them with all the successive changes which my

¹ If this statement is challenged on the ground that it ignores the immense contribution of Jesus, I answer that Jesus would have been impossible without the God who first makes His appearance in Genesis. Without such a God, it is obvious that there could never have been a Son of God.—AUTHOR.

ideas had undergone. They were sorely troubled. At first they contented themselves with giving me well-intentioned advice to pray and read my Bible constantly. If I did this, my doubts would surely pass, for God was testing me and would not desert me if I proved steadfast. When at last, toward the end of my sophomore year, I wrote them that prayer had lost its meaning, they concluded that they would have to take heroic measures to save me from myself. I received a long letter from my father.

He was now convinced, he said, that my going to Harvard had been a ghastly mistake. Two years of it threatened to destroy the faith which had been instilled into me from birth. If I continued in my present course, he could never forgive himself for failing to heed the advice of our old pastor, who had foreseen exactly what had happened to me. "For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" He was convinced, therefore, that it would be best for me to plan on not returning to Cambridge in the fall. If I preferred, he would be willing to let me do nothing at all the next year; I could stay at home and get my bearings anew. After that I could make a fresh start and go on with my studies at the Presbyterian college in Missouri, which he had now concluded was the proper place for me. Of course I was no longer a child to be governed wholly by others; I should have to make my own decisions and take the consequences. But in this important matter he urged me to consider well and be guided by his maturer judgment.

Needless to say, this letter was very disturbing to me. I could understand and sympathize with my father's feelings. But, much as I regretted to displease him, I could not ruthlessly suppress my own convictions. I wrote him to this effect and begged him to allow me to complete the studies which I had begun. I had seen enough of a progressive university and its methods of stimulating students to think for themselves to know that I should never be able to bear the hothouse environment of a denominational college. After the interchange of several letters my father finally capitulated, although he said it went sorely against his conscience.

That third year at Harvard was much less distressing to my peace of mind than the first two had been. The uncertainties which new knowledge had bred no longer paralyzed me. Other certainties began to take form as I set about building up a tenable philosophy of my own. By the end of my junior year these ideas had begun to shake down and adjust themselves to the new pattern which my mind had accepted.

It was now out of the question for me to entertain any hope that I might be able to reconcile my new philosophy of life with those religious assumptions which I had formerly taken for granted. I could not become a Christian minister. Instead, I found myself

strongly attracted toward an academic career. But I was still enrolled as a candidate for holy orders, and it was incumbent upon me to notify Presbytery of my withdrawal.

Back home our old pastor was dead, and a younger man who had formerly assisted him had taken his place. So to him I wrote, in April, 1927, outlining the change in my beliefs just as I have explained it here, and asking him to lay the matter before Presbytery. Within a few days I received his answer. His letter was cordial and tolerant, but it demonstrated so conclusively the impotence of the Church to deal with, or even to understand, the problem of my generation that I shall quote it in full.

April 16, 1927.

MY DEAR PHILIP,

Your father has frequently talked with me about your difficulties. I was therefore not unprepared for your letter, although the Philip who speaks in these pages is an altogether different Philip from the one who left us less than three years ago.

I need not tell you how sorry I am that you have had to go through this crisis. Most of us, some time or other in our college lives, have had to face the very problems that are yours. If a man thinks at all, such questions are bound to torment him sooner or later. Knowing you as I do, I am sure that you have been honest in facing them. Still, it is the way a man answers that really matters; his doubts may always either make him or break him.

I shall not attempt to debate the points which you have raised. You ought to know already how faith can move such mountains of doubt as the unguided reason may build up. There is only one thought that I should like to place before you. As you have been looking at the fact of Christianity from the point of view of a personal God, have you been absolutely fair in seeking the proof on both sides? By that I mean, have you been reading your Bible, praying, and trying to believe, or have you just taken the external view that it cannot be so, and tried to prove *that* by your thought and reading? Not one of us could keep his faith in any vital matter if he listened only to those who argue against it. Religion isn't a question of logic or reason, although there is logic in it and a man has to have a reason for the faith that is within him.

However, I am not going to harass you with a sermon. I want you to know that whatever you do and wherever you go I still count you one of my true friends. Whether it means anything to you or not, I am going to pray for God's blessing upon you, that He may lead you out into the fullest life. You are still numbered here as one of ours, and always will be. If at any time I can serve you in any way, you have only to let me know. And be assured of this—that with my hand goes my heart.

Yours faithfully, etc.

There is something very touching in the manifest sincerity of such an appeal. But what good is it to urge a man to pray when the whole system of religious conceptions has lost its validity for him?

VI

In 1928, I took my degree from Harvard. Four years have now elapsed since then, and my ideas

have undergone no important modification. Subsequent studies have confirmed me in the point of view which I have indicated here, and I remain irretrievably lost to religion. This is a source of permanent chagrin to my family. The years have tended to cover over the wound, to the extent that we never discuss the difference in our opinions; but underneath the tacit acceptance of our disagreement I know that my parents nurse a secret hurt too deep for time to heal. In their prayers and meditations I am sure that while they live they will not cease to plead with their God for my redemption.

Thus it will appear from my little history that we members of the skeptical younger generation are a problem. It is an inevitable consequence of America's generous passion for education. Thousands of young men and women go to college each year from homes more or less like mine, to return changed beyond recognition in all their ideas. And a few thoughtful appraisers of our social trends, men like James Truslow Adams and Walter Lippmann, who are not believers themselves, seem to agree with clergymen and the more devout parents in thinking that the transformation is not always a change for the better.

In this they are probably right. College not only may, but often does, deprive a student of his religious convictions without giving him anything to take their place. Christianity, after all, is a composite of two elements: one purports to explain the nature of the world and man's relationship to the God who rules over it; the other prescribes a course of conduct the sanctions of which are derived from this relationship. The really serious dangers of skepticism become apparent when a student rejects the supernatural part of his religion and concludes that there are no valid reasons left for decent conduct. Robbed of standards, he is likely to adopt the easy ethics of business, which permit a man to do almost anything so long as it leads to success in money-making. This commercial point of view is rapidly becoming the real philosophy of the nation, as Mr. Adams brilliantly demonstrates in *The Epic of America*.

If a life of pure acquisitiveness becomes the ideal of college students, they can find reasons to justify themselves in some of the new theories of psychology. These doctrines tend to glorify the illimitable expansion of the ego as "self-expression," and create in uncritical minds the notion that it is foolish, even harmful to health, to try to suppress one's desires—a favorite dogma of Freud and the psychoanalysts. In this connection it seems to me very strange that, despite our cult of science, we have not yet grasped the full import of the new knowledge that has come to us from the laboratory. The usefulness of the physical sciences is measured by the power they have given mankind to control the forces of nature. Control is the essence of scientific purpose. But the new psychology, calling itself a science, has suppl-

mented the decay of religion to rob us of control over *human* nature—that is, over our appetites.

One solution of this dilemma may lie in the creation of a philosophy which, without calling upon the supernatural, will reassert the effectiveness of the human will as an instrument for governing the desires and impulses. Then it will be possible to restore to good odor the essentially *human* values of life which lift us above the level of mere animal instinct. The system of ethics which would be enforced by such a philosophy would not be strikingly different in many particulars from the moral code of Christianity, but the reasons for obeying it would be found wholly in the satisfactions of the good life itself, not in the promise of reward or punishment after death.

But only a congenital optimist could bring himself to believe that a mere system of ethics, however satisfying to the intellect, could ever take the place of religion among the masses. Most men and women are incapable of sustained self-control. Greed, pride, lust, are too much for them. They can be held to the path of duty only by some power outside themselves—some higher authority which is able to generate repressive fears stronger than their native passions. Over vast multitudes the Church has for centuries enforced an external discipline of precisely this kind.

When religion begins to lose its hold upon the minds of men, as it is now doing with us, a peculiar thing happens. The Church is driven by its own weakness to shift its social responsibilities to other shoulders. Now there is only one other institution strong enough to take on new burdens in such an emergency, and it is an institution which, like the Church, has always been engaged in forcing a measure of parental control upon men who either would not or could not control themselves. This is the State. As religion becomes inoperative, governments are overworked.

In America at the present moment there is ample evidence that this peculiar dislocation of function has already reached an acute stage. The ineffectiveness of Christianity as a social force is revealed, on the one hand, in an outbreak of crime the seriousness of which is common knowledge; and the government has not yet been able to devise satisfactory measures for dealing with it. The Church, on the other hand, aware of its weakness, aware that it can no longer command obedience to its teachings by the time-honored method of invoking the wrath of God, is led to lean more and more heavily upon the state, borrowing secular support for purely religious injunctions. The sad plight of Christianity in Tennessee, which has had to call upon the law for official protection against evolution, is a symbol of spiritual decadence. National prohibition is another sign of the same thing writ large. Thus for some years the churches have been abdicating in their own field and putting their faith in legal restraints.

It is no accident, then, that the groups which are demanding ever more stringent laws to regulate our private lives are identical, almost to a man, with the religious groups in the population. It makes no difference whether they are Protestants clamoring for stricter enforcement of prohibition or Catholics agitating for stricter legislation regarding the dissemination of birth-control information. In both instances increasing pressure is being brought to bear upon government to take over the practical functions of religion—and for the obvious reason that religion, in its decay, is no longer able to do its work in the world.

Though I am an apostate, I must admit, therefore, that it gives me no satisfaction to realize what a large company of young men and women now share the label with me. But I see no help for it. The Church has lost its power to move us. Its con-

ceptions seems as unreal to my generation as the gods of ancient Greece.

The breakdown of Christianity is particularly unfortunate in America, where our educators are so busy building new dormitories and thinking up new systems of instruction that they do not see how urgently the situation calls upon them to redefine the purposes for which their pedagogical machinery exists. In so far as the colleges destroy religious faith without substituting a vital philosophy to take its place, they are turning loose upon the world young barbarians who have been freed from the discipline of the Church before they have learned how to discipline themselves. Perhaps this was what one of my least orthodox Harvard professors had in mind when he once said: "There are only a few men in the world who have earned the right *not* to be Christians."

COMMENT

The opposite philosophy and the antidote to the destructive elements pictured above will be found in the article by Karl Adam "Christ in the Modern World," in this collection. Similarly, excellent material will be found in the various writings of Christopher Dawson, published by Sheed and Ward, New York, and in the works of Fr. D'Arcy, S.J. An excellent synthesis of the best Catholic thought on modern problems is available in "A Sheed and Ward Survey" which gathers in one book the best chapters from sixty recent publications.





PART III

The Reform of the Existing Social Order



A symposium by witnesses from many lands



PAX CHRISTI
IN
REGNO CHRISTI

Economic Organization and the Encyclical of Pius XI

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*A Paper read at the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems
at Harrisburg, Pa., November 27, 1934*

IN THE important if not necessary work of social and economic reconstruction, Pius XI distinguishes between the aims or objectives to be attained, and the means or measures required to reach these objectives.

The chief purpose of the Encyclical is to produce human solidarity in organized society. Not only does the Pontiff recommend that "man's various economic activities combine and unite into one single organism and become members of a common body, lending each other mutual help and service," but he also declares:

"Unless human society forms a social and organized body; unless labor be protected in the social and juridical order; unless the various forms of human endeavor, dependent on one another, are united in mutual harmony and mutual support; unless, above all, brains, capital, and labor combine together for common effort, man's toil cannot produce fruit."

As Leo XIII, so Pius XI teaches that the solidarity of the social organism rests on private ownership:

"... the right to private ownership has been given to man by nature, or rather by the Creator Himself, not only in order that individuals may be able to provide for their own needs and those of their families, but also that by means of it, the goods which the Creator has destined for the human race may truly serve this purpose."

Now the emphasis at the present moment is not upon the theoretical right of the individual to possess property, but upon the wider diffusion of practical ownership among the large number of propertyless wage-earners and the unemployed. There is not to be less of private ownership; there is to be more of it. "Every effort therefore must be made that at least in the future a just share only of the fruits of production be permitted to accumulate in the hands of the wealthy, and that an ample sufficiency be supplied to the workers." Speaking of "the immense army of hired rural laborers, whose condition is depressed in the extreme," the Sovereign Pontiff clearly intimates that the wider diffusion of practical ownership for this group will consist in obtaining an actual share in the land.

The right to private property alone, however, may be sterile and futile, as many landowners and stockholders have learned. The wealth which is constantly being augmented by social and economic

progress must be so distributed amongst the various individuals and classes of society that the common good of all be thereby promoted. In other words, the golden tides of industrial and agricultural production as well as the benefits of financial, scientific, commercial, cultural, professional and artistic skill, far from being damned up in a vast reservoir to be doled out to the advantage of a luxury-loving class, must be canalized in such a way as to fertilize and irrigate every stratum of the social order. Provided there be no lack in the individual of initiative, honesty, energy, skill or enterprise, he should not be excluded from a share in the profits. This assumes, of course, as the Encyclical states that "opportunities for work be provided for those who are willing and able to work."

The third objective proposed in the *Quadragesimo Anno* is that "the wage contract should, when possible, be modified somewhat by a contract of partnership, as is already being tried in various ways to the no small gain both of the wage-earners and of the employers." In this way, it is claimed, wage-earners are made sharers in some sort in the ownership, or the management, or the profits. As we know, numerous efforts have been made in particular businesses or factories to put into effect this recommendation of employee-profit-sharing and even to a certain degree of ownership through special privileges offered in the way of stock transfer and purchase, but the full benefits of the policy have not been experienced because of the limited nature of the experiment, either with respect to the industry itself or the number of workers participating in the plan.

Indeed, the limited success of the private schemes of installing a system of joint ownership and profit-sharing suggest the wisdom of the Holy Father in teaching that the above-mentioned objectives can only be secured by the economic organization of society as a whole. The different forms of political government are organized; miracles of increased production and lowered costs have been effected because of business organization. It follows that the organization on social and economic lines is required to spare the population the evils of chaos and anarchy.

According to Pius XI, social justice and the

proper ordering of economic matters is to be effected by rendering society once more truly coöperative, homogeneous and organized; such organization must be truly representative of all, employers, workers, consumers, weak and strong, rich and poor, capital and labor, an organization in which all economic efforts are directed toward a promotion of common interests, if needs be, by common sacrifices, striving for the public welfare as distinguished from the advantage of some particular group.

This aim, Pope Pius declares, can be accomplished by means of social legislation that will reestablish autonomous vocational groups, or organized occupations, acting under the authority and subject to the control of government. This implies that the common good is to be achieved by the organization of employers and employees in the different industries, by the formation of occupational groups in commerce, the professions, agriculture and the arts. The government could retain that degree of supervision over such an association as is necessary effectively to prevent monopoly and other abuse of power. Such an organization could exercise a control over the improved technique of the particular industry in such wise as to allow the workers in the industry a fair participation in the fruits of invention, safeguarding always the rights of those who have invested capital or lavished intelligent management upon the conduct of the business. As far as possible, the associations would be a natural outgrowth of the needs and opportunities of the industry, the resources, natural and created, of the region and closely tied up with the social interests of the local community. In this way, the organized and inter-organized, lines of production and service would become natural and autonomous units of social life—every whit as natural and autonomous units as the society of persons living as physical neighbors within cities and towns.

Writing on this subject, the Rev. R. A. McGowan insists that the social organization of economic life would bring capital and labor together in a matter that is partially of interest to both. "It unites them," he says, "by function." It would replace the contradiction or conflict of interests due to concentrated ownership and absentee control by unions of workers, preferably on vertical rather than horizontal lines, and by employers, associations representative of the whole industry.

At this point, it should be noted that the specific form of these associations is not minutely described in the Papal Encyclical. Just as with reference to the forms of political control, monarchical, democratic, or representative, Leo XIII in the Encyclical, *Immortale Dei*, did not indicate a preference for one rather than another framework of laws and government, so Pius XI in outlining the general principles that should guide mankind in the reconstruc-

tion of the social order, did not descend to particulars and restrict economic planning to a narrow and rigid framework. As in regard to political development, the history, traditions, geography, resources and temper of the people will furnish guide-posts for the special organization of society economically congenial to a particular country.

It is noteworthy that under the Pontiff's plan, labor would have at least a proportionate, if not an equal voice with the employers in the direction of the economic activities of the group to the common end. "Such a group," says Mr. Roy A. Bronson, "would have a staff of technical experts to make a survey of markets, of production plans, probably consumption, prices of raw materials, production costs and other technical data entering into the activity of that particular group." The writer adds that the information thus acquired would be the basis of efforts to correlate production with demand by means of price-supervision and production-limitation. The experience of the past few months would seem to show the multiplied difficulties of such attempts at control either of production or prices. Nevertheless, the long-range vision inspired by abundant, accurate and impartial analysis of trade reports would go far to ensure a reasonably efficient management, decent profits, and the elimination or diminution of the abuses of child labor, sweat shops, speculation and waste.

Inasmuch as we in the United States are now operating under a system of coöperative effort it is important to observe in what respect the code authorities of the NRA should be improved in order the more fully to realize the benefits of social organization portrayed in the Pope's Encyclical. No better suggestion for this improvement has been made than that offered by Monsignor John A. Ryan:

"The small business' man, the consumer, and the wage earner should all have representation, with voting power, in all these bodies; for they are the agencies set up by the various industries themselves for the administration and enforcement of the codes. It is not necessary that each of the three groups above mentioned, or any of them, should have equal representation with the dominant business membership. One small business man, competent and faithful in attending the meetings of a code authority, would be able to compel reasonable consideration of the interests and grievances of his group. Similarly, one representative of the consumers might be sufficient to interpret and defend the welfare of those who buy goods. As a rule, the labor representation should be somewhat larger. Competent representatives of the wage earners would be able not only to protect the interest of their own class, but to bring about genuine self-government in industry. Indeed, labor participation in the activities of the code authorities could be so expanded and developed that these bodies would become substantially the same as the occupational groups recommended by Pope Pius XI." (*Conference of Catholic Charities, October 9, 1934.*)

The same writer adds:

"We who accept the Catholic economic tradition

ought to rejoice over the opportunity to apply that tradition to the industrial life of the United States. The Catholic economic tradition is neither individualistic nor socialistic. Its essence is to be found in the guild idea. Now the NRA, its codes and its code authorities, present the nearest approach to the guild idea that has appeared in modern times. It holds the possibility of putting into effect the Catholic conception of a social order reconstructed upon the principles of social justice."

The organization, first of labor and then of capital, came about in response to the organic instinct of society. The collaboration in occupational groups is a similarly natural and spontaneous response. In such a type of organization, it is possible to coördinate the special aims of workers' organizations, sc., higher wages, better contracts, protective legislation, restriction of hours, and eventually the status of a partner in the business with the special purposes of employers' associations, sc., safety of investment, security of revenue, relief from oppressive taxation, and the more efficient operation of industry. In fact, this is the task not of reconciliation but of coördination. All that is realizable by means of joint bodies representing the workers and employers in the same industry or category, working through collaboration of classes, and with economic functions of a public character determined by law.

Nor is there anything to prevent this functional division of economic activity from promoting the growth of separate associations in addition to the main group. These separate associations might be empowered to serve special purposes of insurance, charity, or mutual benefit. As the Encyclical expressly provides, they would take a separate vote on those matters in which their separate interests call for special care and protection against other interests.

Since the aim of these groups is to achieve social peace between workers and employers, every association should frame its by-laws providing for a system for settling disputes, preferably by arbitration. Provided that the collective agreements of each group have careful, detailed stipulations and procedures touching upon the contingencies of disability, old age, unemployment, illness, discharge, change of ownership and the like, it is not likely that there will arise a crisis sufficient to make the proposal of a strike or lock-out within the range of probability. This danger will be further minimized in case a final and higher form of inter-organization is utilized. This would consist in the coördination of the chief associations themselves, in some thing like a Supreme Economic Council representative of employers, workers and consumers, meeting for the purpose of shaping the main currents of national life into the channels most productive of the general

economic welfare and common good of the community, State or nation. In these ways, conflicts and disputes with reference to wage-scales in different regions and different groups could be adjusted; prices would be stabilized; a proper equilibrium established between agriculture and industry; the talents of professional and cultural leaders utilized; and the vast bulk of the consuming public be protected. It stands to reason that such a Supreme Economic Council would not only be in a position of unique advantage to initiate experiments in the social and economic order such as the electric power development of the Tennessee Valley with its concomitant housing and subsistence-homesteading projects, but also possess that happy combination of disinterestedness and vision that would determine what forms of property, carrying with them potentialities for domination or exploitation, should best be vested in the community at large.

Granted the solid benefits to be conferred by such a system of human coöperation, there are two dangers which are writ large on the surface of an undertaking national in scope and perhaps revolutionary in its consequences. From the economic point of view, it tends towards closed national systems, with the idea of national self-sufficiency; while from the political point of view, it tends to the authoritarian State, omnipotent even in economic matters, which would imply the concentration of all powers in a single head, without the possibility of criticism, or of opposition, or of dissent, or of indifference. In short, there would be imminent if not present the menace of the loss of political liberty and a large measure of organic independence. For these two reasons, the Holy Father expressly added a strong recommendation in favor of international friendship, world economic collaboration, the removal of barriers to trade, and a world orientation toward peace and coöperative endeavor.

The paramount importance of individual rights and the rights of the family are emphasized in like manner. The whole tenor of the Encyclical is toward freedom and coördination. And the need of a widespread reformation of manners, the education of the heart as well as the mind, a restoration of Christian life and Christian institutions are urged as indispensable to any satisfactory reform of the economic system. Not only the system, but those who run the system or are affected by it must submit to the law of conscience which is the mouthpiece of God. Otherwise, the nations will continue to grow poor together. On the other hand, if the recommendations of His Holiness are given a fair trial, they will bring about the opposite result; the nations will grow rich together and individual citizens and families together with them.

Catholicism

and the

Modern Mind

By MICHAEL DE LA BEDOYERE

From: LONDON CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY

(A)

Introductory

I PROPOSE to use in this essay a number of familiar terms in the vague sense in which they are familiarly used. To begin with, it is evident that the term Modern Mind which appears in the title is the vague name of a vague object. The greater part of the essay will be concerned with the enquiry into what that vague object signifies. But before we can study the nature of an object, we must agree that there is some obvious characteristic by which we may recognise its presence. Most of us know very little about the nature of electricity, but we can all recognise its presence by the light which it gives us. In the case of the modern mind, it is by its darkness rather than by its light that we shall recognise its presence. And its darkness, strangely enough, is due to its attempt to be too luminous. For our purpose we may consider the philosopher Descartes¹ to have been the father of the modern mind. Descartes was determined to see very clearly and distinctly, and in order to do this he endeavoured to doubt deliberately about anything of which he was not absolutely certain. The result was that he was only able to see one thing clearly and distinctly, the fact of his own existence. Having, by this uncompromising method, arrived at the rock of certainty, he forgot all about his intention of doubting everything about which he was not absolutely certain and proceeded to erect a philosophic system which his successors have shown not only not to be certain, but to be for the most part manifestly false. It is by this combination of the Cartesian methodic doubt with a practical naïve trust that we may recognise the modern mind. It is prepared to jettison the past and to admit only whatever can be tested either by the measuring rod of the natural sciences or by the standard of practical utility. Not, indeed, that these tests are either clear in themselves or applied in a clear manner. It will be part of our business to try and apply them more rigorously than the

modern mind applies them, and thus ascertain what the modern mind *ought* to believe if it were consistent with its own ideal. In point of fact, the modern mind, like Descartes, after starting in a bold and cavalier manner, is only too ready to re-admit by the back door what it has indignantly expelled through the front.

We have just mentioned the natural sciences, and we shall be constantly mentioning them again. This, again, is a vague name for a vague object. It should be definitely understood, however, that this is not a discussion of the relations between science and religion. The term is used here to denote not the science of the scientist, but the science of either the populariser of science or of the man in the street. The science of the scientist is far too complex and rigorous to affect the modern mind directly; it is the popular philosophy translating the abstractions of the laboratory into pictures apprehensible to the senses and the imagination which impresses itself on the modern mind.

The only term to be used here which is not vague is Catholicism. In fact it is the definiteness of Catholicism which is contrasted with the nebulosity of the modern mind. But even in this case the word is used rather more loosely than it would be in a catechism or a work of theology. Though it is true that in one sense Catholicism is all or nothing, it is only natural that a philosophy of life which has endured for two thousand years and has made the culture of which the modern mind is a part, if not an ornament, should exert its influence beyond the minds of those to whom it is all or nothing. Just as it is with the philosophy of science rather than with science itself that we shall be concerned; so it is the tradition of Christianity rather than the Church itself that we have in mind. And again, just as we shall leave it to be inferred by the reader that the philosophy of science is something very inferior to science, so we shall leave the reader to draw his own conclusions about the true relation between the tradition of Christianity and the dogmas and moral teaching of the Church from which this tradition is drawn.

¹ René Descartes, d. 1654, a Frenchman, and a Catholic.

(B)

What the Modern Mind Has Inherited

"How very hard it is to be a Christian," wrote Browning at the beginning of his poem *Easter Day*, but how equally hard it is to be a consistent agnostic. Descartes, we have seen, was a believer in spite of, rather than because of, his doubt, and so is the modern mind. Modern man believes in certain dogmas as firmly as any Catholic; he takes for granted more than the Catholic does, for he has no standard by which to judge, with any consistency, of truth and error, good and bad. What he takes for granted is in the main due to three sources, the tradition of ancient Greece, the tradition of Christianity, and the teachings of modern scientific philosophy. To Greece he owes his way of looking at the problem of the Universe as a whole. To Christianity he owes a standard of values from which he is unable completely to escape. To science he owes both his sceptical attitude to these two inheritances and a number of new ideals often in fundamental contradiction to the old ideals which continue to play at the back of his mind.

To the Greeks the nature of the Universe was primarily an intellectual problem. We may find it hard to conceive of it as anything else. But in the first place it is not necessary that it should appear as a problem at all, and secondly it might appear as a moral or utilitarian problem. In many civilizations the Universe was taken for granted. People thought, not in terms of "what," "why," "wherefore," but in terms of events such as the sowing and gathering of crops associated with certain regular reactions. For such people, the business of living engrossed their attention so much that they had no time to speculate. A simple religion closely connected with the regular sequence of actions necessary for the production of food satisfied whatever latent curiosity they might have had. In a sense, we have come back to that attitude, but with the difference that speculation is turned on to the practical problem of finding new and better ways of living and to the moral problem of criticising the traditional values inherited from the religion accepted as true in the past. The man-in-the-street, however, is often quite content to accept life as it comes to him and to hope for the best.

But the Greeks were not content with accepting the sequence of occurrences which made up their world. They wanted to know how these occurrences were strung together, what was the unity behind them. Put technically, they wanted to answer the problem of the One and the Many, how the *one* meaning was related to the *many* happenings. At the highest point of Greek intellectual and cultural development, there existed a deep faith in the reality of some Oneness or perfect order hidden under the appearance of the changing and imperfect Many. The intellect, they saw, apprehends universals, that

is to say, it grasps not this or that particular object which the senses touch or smell or see, but the *kind* or *type* of thing of which this or that particular object grasped by the senses is a manifestation. The senses are in contact with James or John, but the intellect thinks of man, the kind of being which James, John and all other men are. To the Greek mind the idea or concept "man" was much more satisfactory than the individuals whose peculiarities and idiosyncrasies seemed beyond explanation. In a similar way, the order or law according to which events moved seemed to be more important than the events themselves, simply because this order or law never changed, was always there to be consulted and governed the apparently haphazard events. The Greeks were content to discover this unity and this law and then to contemplate it. They did not take the step of trying to turn knowledge into power, so that they might use these laws for utilitarian purposes, as we use our knowledge of the laws of matter. On the contrary, this knowledge bred in them a kind of fatalism and sadness, a feeling of man's impotence and smallness in the face of a reality which was infinitely greater than passing man. This mood is always to be found in Greek drama. It was the forerunner of the humble spirit of the greatest minds in modern science, but we can understand how quickly such a mood can change to one of triumph when it is shown that law or fate can be made into an instrument for the discovery of how to get things done. In the light of the knowledge so obtained, we can easily be blind to the vast realms of what is still obscure. The search of the Greeks for Truth left them intensely conscious of the obscure, and in this consciousness they learned the secret of the "good life," the life of "Justice." The good life of man should be life according to the rule which is a replica of the law and order that obtains in a well-governed society, and this latter order is a replica of the order of the Universe which, being ultimate, must be supremely just and good. Man must conform himself to the law of the Universe rather than twist that law to his own temporary needs.

It seems to be a far cry from this view of the Universe (which, it must be admitted, was only attained by the sublimest minds of ancient Greece) to our popular notions. Nevertheless, it is to Greece that we owe our curiosity about the apparently unregulated, unaccountable, changing events in the world. However sceptical the modern mind has become, its scepticism is inspired by a purpose, the purpose of finding the truly satisfying solution. The pre-supposition that there is a solution has provided a framework to our curiosity, so much so that the question once put by the pragmatist William James: "What's all this fuss about number One?", sounds absurd to our minds. Oneness, harmony, the ultimate reconciliation of contraries, the identity of Truth and Goodness, the Uniformity of Nature—

these are so many accepted premises, accepted not only by Christians, but also by free-thinkers, empirical scientists, liberals, socialists with hardly an exception until the last few years. Despite their sad acknowledgement of the might of Fate, the Greeks are the fathers of optimism, for they could not conceive of an intellectual solution being anything but good, even though that goodness might have a significance far transcending our petty notions of happiness and unhappiness. Of late, a truer understanding of the philosophy of science has made this optimism wear rather thin, but it is a remarkable tribute to Greek philosophy that it should have endured so long despite developments which might well have killed it earlier.

That this has been so is, of course, not entirely due to the inheritance of Greece. A purely intellectual faith may flourish at a certain period of culture and within the limits of a small territory, it cannot endure for twenty centuries and over a whole continent. The best in Greek philosophy was suddenly translated by the coming of Christianity from the rare air of philosophical concepts to the land of objects which we can touch and see. The opposition between the One and the Many was reconciled by the birth of Christ. The importance of that event is perhaps to be more vividly gauged by considering to what extent the critics of Christianity are soaked in the tradition of the Church than by ascertaining the number of people who still profess the religion of Christ.

The rock on which Christianity is built is the fact of the Incarnation. If the Incarnation were not a fact, not only would the theology of Christianity crumble to pieces, but the reason for much that the Western mind takes for granted would not exist. It is indeed true that many who hold on to certain beliefs with the tenacity that comes from believing them to be self-evident, do not realise that their denial of the truth of the Incarnation involves the uncertainty of those beliefs.

The Incarnation has made the Western mind incurably monotheistic. This may not sound very important, except to theologians and to the faithful, but, if we reflect on it, we shall agree that it provides the real reason for two articles of Western faith, held as firmly by unbelievers as by believers. We refer to faith in Progress and faith in the unique value of every human being just because he is a human being. To believe in one God, who is so much a Person that He can become Man at a definite date in the history of mankind, is to be committed to the view that history, the flow of events in time, counts for something in the ultimate explanation of the Universe. The Greeks, we remember, looked to the abstract and eternal Oneness of things, for appearances were illusion; Christianity has challenged this despising of the changing world in time and space, by asserting that God Himself, the supreme One, the

final explanation, the ultimate reality, has taken our changing, imperfect flesh. And this was done for a purpose, to redeem the world. *To believe this is to believe that there is an ultimate difference between before and after.* The Greeks would have had nothing to say against the view that the course of events might have moved back from our future to our past, like a cinema film turned the wrong way round. Mechanistic science to-day has nothing to say against it, for its conclusions would not be affected by the fact. But the Incarnation involves the fact that history must move in a forward direction, that it has a purpose which is an end in the literal sense of the word. It is no longer possible to hold that occurrences are illusion or to rest in the Eastern theory that the march of events is cyclic so that the present is a roundabout way of returning to the past. When James wrote so inspiringly: "If this life be not a real fight in which something is eternally gained for the universe by success, it is no better than a game of private theatricals from which one may withdraw at will," he was expressing a point of view vital to the beliefs of the Western world, but quite alien from the Eastern. This difference is due to the fact of the Incarnation. James, indeed, went too far and was so much under the influence of the lesson of the Incarnation that he forgot it was *God* who became Man. God as Man is still God, so that the Incarnation in no way sacrifices the truth contained in the Greek devotion to Oneness. On the contrary, it confirms it, for the belief in a Personal God, the Creator of the world, so to say, clinches the intelligibility of the universe. It is no longer an impersonal, and therefore defective intelligibility, but a personal one. God is not an idea, but essential Existence itself. He is Creator and Governor, directing all created things to good. The problem of truth is changed from being a search for truth, if truth there be, to being a reconciliation between the truth which we ultimately know by Revelation and such fragments of it as we can reach through the use of our reason and senses. What this certainty has meant to one special branch of human curiosity, the natural sciences, is best brought out by reminding ourselves that there would have been no science, but for what Whitehead describes as "the inexpugnable belief that every detailed occurrence can be correlated with its antecedents in a perfectly definite manner, exemplifying general principles." This is the Greek fate made luminous by Christian dogma.

Even more striking is the second main result of the dogma of the Incarnation. God became man to save each and every human being. This makes explicit in a way impossible to any mere moral philosophy the ultimate worth of even the humblest inhabitant of the globe. It gives the historical reason why the philosopher Kant could lay it down as an intuition to which every rational man must assent that the "individual is an end in himself and may

never be made into a means only to some one else's good." It is hardly necessary to point out that on this belief rests the whole force of modern democratic and social reform, the whole political "movement towards the Left" to which the Modern Mind has been faithful in spite of its loss of faith in the dogmas of Christianity; in spite, too, of the opposite view which is the more natural conclusion of impersonal science.

The third factor which has contributed to the making of the modern mind is the development of natural science itself. It is to science that the modern mind owes the radical scepticism which contrasts with the constructive activity of the Greek mind and the depth of the Christian mind. It is to the unstable harmonising with the other two factors of what it has learned from science that are due the "substitute" ideals which are characteristic of our time.

It is paradoxical that the growth of scientific knowledge, the utilitarian results of which are so obvious, should encourage a sceptical attitude. There are two reasons. Science at first sight seems to prove the falsity of a great deal that has been held to be true, and science provides as a substitute for the old, deeper beliefs, superficial and unsatisfying new ideals. Natural science takes for its subject-matter the physical universe, the animal world, the human body and the human mind. With each of these divisions is connected a popular name, Galileo, Darwin, Pavlov and Freud. (Pavlov, if not yet popular, is certainly destined to be so, once his work has been popularised.) Each of these names seems to the modern mind to have cut off a large slice of traditional belief.

Galileo showed that this earth of ours which—to judge by the great events that have taken place on it—ought to have been the physical centre of the universe, was no more than a planet revolving round its sun. Since his day it has been shown that even our sun is not the centre of the universe and that, furthermore, the possibility of life on this planet shows all the signs of being an accident that cannot long endure. Next, Darwin suggested that man himself, the chief character and end of the theological account of the universe, was probably evolved from creatures lower than himself. If evolution were true, it seemed that the higher was no more than a fortuitous complication of the lower and, therefore, of no more account than the lower. Pavlov has been giving adequate accounts of how a great many apparently purposeful actions in animals are to be explained by the mechanical working of 'conditioned reflexes.' Lastly, Freud has been the father of various psychological theories, the general aim of which is to show that we are not responsible for the greater part of our mental life, that, in a phrase, the care of our souls is better left to the doctors than the priests.

It is hardly surprising, then, that the modern mind has become radically sceptical of all theology, nearly all traditional ethics and of a great deal of philosophy. But allowing that this attitude is justified, should not positive science with its apparently greater certainty in its own narrow field give man a more stable foundation for a new—though perhaps narrow—constructive outlook? In fact, and we shall see the reason later, it has not done so. The only "substitute" ideals, compounded of the old and the new, which it has been able to give are ideals like comfort, pleasure, removal of pain, efficiency, power, length of life, speed, and, perhaps, as Mr. Aldous Huxley foresees in his satire *Brave New World*, ultimate stability. In fairness, we must allow that science has also promoted certain negative ideals such as toleration and freedom of thought—at any rate from certain kinds of tyranny. It has, however, substituted other tyrannies of scientific orthodoxy quite as noxious. Apart from this, the best that can be said for its effect on the moral qualities of the modern mind is that it has not succeeded in ousting many of the ideals inherited from the tradition of Greece and Christianity, though it has ousted the belief in the premises which relate these ideals to the nature of universe. As a result, these ideals have changed from being legitimate conclusions drawn from the facts to being pious wishes. We shall have an opportunity of seeing how this has changed the nature of the ideals themselves.

(C)

The Cosmic Moods of the Modern Mind

The reader will have noticed that the factors which have contributed to the "make up" of the modern mind are closely interconnected. The Christian factor broadens and deepens the Greek factor, while the contribution of science tends to dissolve the contribution of Christianity. In this the latter has certainly not been entirely successful. In order to judge of the true worth of the scientific contribution, we must try to see what would happen if science were successful in destroying not only the dogmas of Christianity, but the moral beliefs and ideals which depend upon these dogmas. By doing this, we shall discover what the modern mind *ought* to doubt and *ought* to believe, if its valuation of science is taken seriously. We shall, in fact, be applying with ruthless logic the modern mind's own canon of doubt. And lest we be misunderstood, we must again repeat that we are not concerned with the work of science in its own field, but with the popular philosophy that has been built up around that perfectly legitimate work.

Science has taught the modern mind that there are no sufficient grounds in religion, in philosophy or in history for maintaining that the inheritance of Greece and of Christianity is something genuine.

On the contrary, science has no use for Aristotle—according to Bertrand Russell, his existence is to be counted among the great misfortunes of the human race—still less has it any use for the dogma of a Personal God who became Man. What, then, is the pure philosophy of science which shall replace these ancient fakes? Natural science is directly concerned with discovering the sequence in which both the largest and the most minute events or parts of events take place.² In order to do this it pre-supposes that a simple sequence will always be repeated in like conditions and this pre-supposition has been proved to be true in all cases that are tested. Hence it can foresee what will happen under certain circumstances, and by altering the circumstances it can vary what is to happen. This setting up of specially designed circumstances gives it power to use its knowledge of sequences or laws so as to serve human wants. Because science, in this way, illuminates whatever it touches, it is inclined to take for granted that *it* has the best insight into the nature of everything. Thus it tends to hold that everything is determined, and that even man in all respects forms part of this determined, enclosed, phenomenal universe. From the mensurable or at least countable past events which go with what common-sense would call a “thing,” we are asked to deduce that the “thing” is really nothing but those events. In this view, there is no room for categories like substance, cause (except as referring to invariable sequence), essence, type, idea; there is no room for moral values, freedom, responsibility, good and evil. All these terms point not to the mere fact of occurrence, but to something behind the occurrence, something which the technique of science cannot touch. Still less can there be room for something behind the whole system of occurrences, some end or purpose, the ultimate source of all things, the goal to which all things tend. If all this philosophy goes by the board, it must follow that anything like the supernatural dogmas of Christianity are no better than a fairy story.

But with the removal of traditional philosophy and traditional religion, there disappears as well all reason for believing that the future holds out more promise than the past, that the future can be *made* more satisfactory than the past, that the uniformity of the sequence of occurrences will endure or apply to some new field, that human beings can claim any preferential treatment, that there is, in fine, *any ascertainable cosmic purpose to be served either in discovering the facts of science or re-shaping through the help of those facts the world in which we happen to live.* It might be objected that mental science demonstrates the fact that men prefer pleasure to pain, and that it is, therefore, reasonable to do all that is possible to increase pleasure and di-

minish pain. A world, therefore, which is gradually eliminating pain and increasing pleasure is a progressing world. Even if we allow this, we are still faced with the difficulties of measuring pleasure, of discovering a principle by which to allot pleasure to the many claimants and finally of finding a way of *making* anybody happy. Once we get on to the question of subjective pleasure and happiness it becomes so obvious that the methods of science are inadequate that the scientist prefers to forget all about that department of life. There is little relation and much opposition between scientific philosophy and the complications of humanitarianism and social reform which are at least as popular with the modern mind as that philosophy itself.

All this reads like a caricature. No man could live in so bleak and cold an atmosphere. This is true, no man does so live. The reason is that the attempt to doubt all that cannot be proved by the canons of science breaks down in life. The modern mind cannot throw off the inheritance of Christianity. It is desperately trying to cling on to that part of it which is not in glaring contrast to the scientific philosophy. The net result is a divorce between mind and heart which issues in what we may call cosmic moodiness. The modern mind swings from an easy optimism to a bitter pessimism in the same way as a boy still guided by vivid imagination and feeling one day feels that all life is rosy and the next that he has been singled out to be tried like the saints of God. At one time, the modern mind faces the facts which his intellect puts clearly before him. The result is a blank pessimism, for, after all, what is there to be said for a world without a God, for a world in which man can raise himself no higher than to the power of manipulating events and phenomena according to a motive which is itself the predetermined effect of those same events and phenomena? To escape from this emptiness, the modern mind plunges into an optimism resting on the evidence of the positive and negative accomplishments of the age of science. It looks to the value of those inventions which have made food and clothes cheaper and more abundant, which have diminished disease and suffering, which have made popular education a possibility, which have brought art and music within the reach of all. It sees the value of a new and stern respect for truth which has diminished persecution and a more serious attempt to give to each human being the chances of developing the possibilities that are in him. It realises that this is not a perfect age, but who would willingly be wafted back into the ages when torture allied itself with justice, when no one could prevent naked force from attaining its ends, when human life was hardly valued at all, when plagues swept over Europe and a thousand diseases, now conquered, proved fatal, when communication was slow and dangerous, when libraries were the coveted possessions of a few rich men? Why, we who criticise

² The words “macrocosmic” and “microcosmic” are sometimes used to express the difference.

our own times would probably have been removed out of the world altogether by force, disease, or accident before we had reached our present age, had we lived in "the good old days." Is not all this sufficient cause for optimism? The answer is that no one pretends that science taken by itself is anything but excellent and admirably useful. It is not what science has done but what people have pretended it does which is unsatisfactory. Though the inventions and comforts which we owe to science are not essential to the Christian mind, they are good in themselves and, properly used, they may and have been the means of broadening that mind; they have also been the road along which some people are led to see the value of a Christianity which gives an understanding of the worth of scientific discovery and progress. The modern mind has unfortunately made the scientific factor, which on examination shows itself to be one special way of looking at one side of reality, and which depends for its own success on its narrowness, the light against which the dissipated remnants of philosophy and religion throw themselves to be still further singed. Life itself is burned away by the light of science, and the very person who one day is lost in admiration at the light becomes, the next, its victim, so that his early optimism is changed into fearful pessimism. At its best the modern mind enjoys a mood which is a caricature of Christian philosophy; at its worst it is in despair.

(D)

The Modern Mind Contrasted With the Catholic Mind

The Catholic mind is not a ready-made product, fitted out with a complete and absolutely satisfactory equipment manufactured in Heaven to confound the world, the flesh and the devil. Like the modern mind, it is the product of the past and under the influence of the present. It has had the same inheritance from Greece, from Rome and from the laboratories of the world. It differs from the modern mind by making the dogmas of Christianity the nucleus of the organic unity which is made up of these factors and it asserts that either Christianity must be the nucleus or it must be entirely expelled from the organism. It is as consistent in its point of view as science is inconsistent. We have seen what science ought to believe, we shall see what Christianity ought to believe and does.

Catholicism denies that there is a philosophy of science. It asserts that no scientific truth whatever involves the falsity of Christian religion and philosophy, but rather requires it in order to fit that scientific truth into an intelligible system. We have no

space for a detailed refutation of the claims of scientific philosophy, but since we have mentioned four well-known names of scientists who may seem to have pushed Christianity into a corner so small that its very smallness refutes its spacious claims, we must show very briefly why the Church has no objections to the discoveries of Galileo, Darwin, Pavlov, and Freud.

In the case of Galileo,³ it is easy to understand why the proposition that the earth is not the centre of the universe should offend the imagination of a theologian who has always taken it for granted that it is. Had man devised the universe, he would probably have made its centre coincide with the place where he would have created its most important inhabitants. This is because the senses play so large a part in human knowledge and, therefore, place and quantity are categories to which man attaches especial importance. On reflection, he realises at once that quality is of far greater importance. There is then no reason why God, who sees things in their true value, should pay the same respect to quantity as we are accustomed to do, and to Him the distance between the earth and the furthestmost parts of the spatial universe is no doubt of little moment. But it took the shock of Galileo to illustrate imaginatively a lesson which is far more vital to the philosophy of Catholicism than it is to science.

Darwin's evolutionary theories only become a theological difficulty when it is proved that man is nothing more than an irrational animal with, let us say, added physical and psychical complexity. Science may prove what all Christians have held, namely, that he is an animal, but how can it prove that he is no more than an animal? It is, to begin with, exceedingly difficult to prove a negative. If he is higher than an animal, one may legitimately ask for an explanation of how the higher can be evolved from the lower without the higher nature being at some time added to the lower? And it is with the higher that theology is directly concerned. Darwin's theory of natural selection by supposing the very idea of *selection* enabled confused minds to imagine the purposiveness implied in the word selection to be associated with mere chance, but now that natural selection has given way to a theory of sudden complete changes or mutations due, perhaps, to the effect of radiation on that part of the organism which influences heredity, the meaning or purpose behind evolutionary changes is either non-existent or completely unaccounted for. In the first case, it is pure metaphor to talk of higher and lower, in the second, science leaves the field clear for religion and philosophy.

Pavlov can show that conditioned reflexes give a mechanical account of many apparently purposive actions, but it has always been the view of Christian philosophy that animals are not conscious of acting purposively. Whether their actions are to be

³ See *Galileo and His Condemnation*, by Fr. E. R. Hull, S.J., C.T.S., 1s. 6d.

explained by unconscious purpose or by reflexes is a biological, not a religious, question. And the same applies to those human actions which are purely animal in nature. Malebranche,⁴ the philosopher priest, held views about animal behaviour far more mechanistic than any of Pavlov's.

Lastly, modern psychology is based upon the distinction between conscious and unconscious acts. To show that much of our conscious behaviour is dependent upon the unconscious, whether sex or anything else, presupposes that we can become more and more conscious of our unconscious behaviour. In other words, the goal of Freud and those whom he has influenced is to order the mind in such a way that we shall become more fully aware of our real motives, and in so doing deprive unconscious motives of their efficacy. Its goal is a greater degree of human responsibility, and its lesson is that complete normality is less common than is usually believed. In point of fact, the evidence of Catholic moral theology shows that confessors have long been well aware of the fact that complete freedom is rarer than the man in the street is apt to suppose.

These are immediate considerations, for all who will reflect, which show that the Christian answer is as ready to hand, and, at least, as intelligible and cogent as the scientific criticism of the teachings of Christianity.

Allowing, therefore, that science does not prove its case, and that, so far as it is concerned, the Christian mind has a perfect right to maintain its belief in Christian dogma, what does the latter make of its inheritance?

In the first place, it holds that reality is intelligible, that it has a meaning. This implies that everything which goes to make up that reality does so because it plays a part in the scheme which involved the creation of man. This does not imply merely a movement forward towards a future for which we may hope, but which we cannot understand. The Christian is not a Mr. Micawber waiting for something to turn up. On the contrary, the Christian idea of God, amid the other riches it brings, confirms and makes concrete the Greek philosophical ideal. God whose Essence it is to exist, who is above time and space, who never changes, who is completely independent of creation, is in His very Being the meaning of the universe. The universal ideas beyond time and space for which Plato sought are reflections of the transparent intelligibility which God is. The striving after an end, that "change" which Aristotle attributed to the mechanical and impersonal Prime Mover is a movement starting and ending with God. But God is not merely an intelligible idea, He is a Person, a Person who at a certain date in history became Man. Here is the corrective to the over-intellectual and static Greek ideal.

The changes in history at once become deified, in the sense that they represent to God something worthy of Divine attention. The direction along which man proceeds is a matter of eternal moment, though not, of course, a matter which affects the eternal independence of God. Through the Incarnation, human action and choice partake of the eternal significance of Divine truth and Divine Goodness. Each and every man becomes, as it were, a new and unrepeatable centre of the universe which he contemplates, and from his own angle, makes or mars. Furthermore, though each man begins to exist at a definite moment in time, once begun he will never end. The very fact that he can see with the vision of eternity gives him a share of that eternity. Only a Divine act of annihilation, an act as mysterious as the act of creation, could put an end to this eternal vision.

It is not hard to see how perfectly supported by this Christian philosophy are the beliefs which the modern mind would like to be able to maintain without that support. Let us take science first of all. We have seen that Whitehead considers that without "the inexpugnable relief that every detailed occurrence can be correlated to its antecedents in a perfectly definite manner, exemplifying general principles . . . the incredible labours of scientists would be without hope." In other words, the method of science itself pre-supposes that the universe is a system, not as Mr. Bertrand Russell holds: "all spots and jumps, without unity, without continuity, without coherence or orderliness." But is there any reason for disagreeing with Mr. Russell other than an admission that the universe embodies a plan and purpose, that it is the expression of a mind? Given this, the field in which science can speak with authority is strictly limited. The Mind of which the universe is an expression and whose purpose it fulfils, the minds of rational creatures which participate in the nature of the Mind behind the world and even the organisms of irrational creatures, in so far as they involve something more than mere physics and chemistry, are all outside the scope of science. The moment true science is extended by its popularising votaries beyond these limits it speaks with definitely *less* authority than, let us say, the ordinary child old enough to be able to distinguish between right and wrong and to apprehend the simple laws of logic. The reason is that it is deliberately mistaking the part for the whole and no amount of accuracy in understanding the intimate nature of the part will compensate for this logical mistake. Science describes to us the laws (generally provisional) according to which occurrences happen in that part of reality which we can measure by means of the senses, either directly or indirectly. As might be expected the knowledge of these laws is of great practical utility to creatures so closely bound to sense impression. It is, in Mr. Russell's graphic phrase, "power-thought," it is not value-thought.

⁴ Malebranche (1638-1715, a disciple of Descartes).

Whatever helps us to attain a purpose, is useful and powerful, but it is not in itself valuable. It only becomes valuable when the object which it helps us to attain is valuable. It must not be overlooked that no one would bother his head to discover ways and means unless he pre-supposed the existence of valuable ends towards the attaining of which these ways and means served. And here again, it is the teaching of Christianity which has firmly implanted in Western man the very idea of something more valuable than the immediate values of everyday life, such as pleasure, the satisfaction of appetite, protection from nature, the acquiring of the gifts which the earth regularly offers, the expression of the artistic talent and the like. The turning of "power-thought" to the discovery of objects and uses more and more remote from the immediate values of everyday life reflects the Western mind's devotion to the Christian idea that life is not entirely measured by what man can immediately touch and see. The faith in Progress which we have seen to be closely connected with the truth of the Incarnation is only the phenomenal interpretation of the Christian's faith in the value or goodness of what man has it in him to become in the future, if he lives a truly human life. Because the progress of each individual soul in the course of its life history is a reality for the Christian, Christianity gives real meaning to historical change and development, and it has really far more reason for believing in the possibilities of "power-thought" as a means of helping man in the attainment of his real end than has science itself which too often confuses the discovery of ways and means with the value of the objects to which these ways and means lead.

This Christian faith in what science can achieve gives a standard by which science may judge whether it is playing its part or only trying to play some one else's part in the bettering of the world. Science should help man, the individual with a soul to save, and not the abstract idea of Society which has no soul. We owe it to Christianity that we are (or were) fairly clear about the meaning of this. It may be objected that the phrase "man is an end in himself and cannot rightly be made into a means only" is an ultimate moral intuition. It is easy to say this after eighteen hundred years of Christian teaching about the spirituality and immortality of man. But the fact is that no other civilization has considered this to be a moral axiom. They have all, no doubt, held that man is more important than the beasts for the simple reason that men and not beasts are responsible for the promulgation of the moral code. But that is by no means the same as saying that all men are, in one vital sense, equal, that every man, just because he is a man, is the subject of certain rights which may never be lost, except through his own free forfeiture of them by crime. It is this Christian conviction which is the founda-

tion of all social reform, the foundation for what James describes as "the passion for social righteousness" which is characteristic of the modern world. Here is the standard by which the value of science is judged. For the Christian mind this moral intuition is linked to a complete philosophy of moral conduct of which it is but one aspect. The rights of man are correlative to the duties of man, and both rights and duties are aspects of the moral law which is man's participation in God's understanding of how man ought to act in regard to God, to his fellow men and to himself. The purpose, then, of Progress (of which scientific progress is but one kind) is first and foremost religious or moral. It is an attempt to shape the world according to a Divine plan for a Divine end. Social reform and scientific discovery are not ends in themselves. The Christian mind does not make abstract Society the end of social reform, nor is it exclusively connected with temporal happiness and physical well-being. The latter are indeed part of the Divine plan, since they are good, but if the obtaining of greater temporal happiness involves the disregard of the fact that it is obtained at the expense of the good life as measured by man's real end, its pursuit would be equivalent to putting a spoke into the machinery which alone makes the universe comprehensible. It would involve admitting that the passing sensation of pleasure was the true good of man. This, in turn, would involve admitting that something transitory could be the end which makes the universe, history, science intelligible. The purpose of the universe would have to be sought within the temporary phenomena which we have seen to be intelligible only if they are factors in the working out of a purpose which transcends them. To admit this would throw us back to the inadequate scientific philosophy which we have examined. That is why the Christian mind refuses to turn anything taken by itself—even the abolition of suffering—into an ideal before which all other ideals must make way. To do so would be the best way of making nonsense of that very ideal. Why, for example, abolish suffering unless suffering is an evil, and why is it an evil, if it is not judged by some standard of good and evil which may mean that other things are more evil still? For the very sake of social reform and humanitarianism, Christianity refuses to be limited by the narrow ends of social reform and nothing else, of humanitarianism and nothing else.

(E)

Conclusion

With this Christian attitude let us compare the optimistic mood of the modern mind. The modern mind believes in the intelligibility of the universe and in the value of Progress. But this belief is carefully qualified. By intelligibility it hardly means more than that the universe is a suitable object on

which to impress, at any rate for a time, the intellectual efforts of man. It looks back to the distant past when the earth was all forest and water stingily supporting a few miserable creatures more animal than human, and this dismal dream it contrasts with a world abounding in rich crops, in fat cattle, in machinery able to make use of mineral wealth, all enriching millions upon millions of inhabitants. In this is to be found the intelligibility of the universe; man has made it so. But one day a scientist proves that the stored up energy in the universe is being used and not being replenished, so that a time must come when this varied and enriching earth will change into some undifferentiated, grey, useless matter in which what was man will be indistinguishable from what was soil. Another day another scientist shows that, after all, some radiation from the sun or stars may rebuild the lost energy on the earth and all is well. Thus the "intelligibility" of the universe is threatened by the hypothesis of one scientist and restored by the hypothesis of another. More serious still, each individual modern mind is destined to come to a complete end in the course of a few years. When that happens the universe will cease to be intelligible for it. And the same applies to all other modern minds. What kind of intelligibility then is this which is dependent on chance discovery and is restricted to the few short years during which the minds of individual men endure?

The modern mind believes in Progress, in the good things hidden behind the veil of Time which it is man's privilege to discover. The golden age, which was once thought to have reigned in the distant past, is now the goal of the scientific future. But who knows whether there is to be a scientific future; who knows why he believes that we are still in the infancy of the human race? Even supposing we are, why should our descendants adopt the same standard of progress, of good and evil as we do? How can the modern mind affirm that there is anything final about that standard? We know only too well how rapidly it is changing under our eyes; who would be bold enough to assert that this rapid change marks the steps by which we are approaching an ideal laid up in Heaven? May it not be just change for change's sake, a perpetual movement without end or meaning? Again, has this Progress any meaning in view of the accepted modern dogma that the life of man ends with the death of his body? Progress for whom? For those who come after us? But they in turn will ask the same question and answer it in the same way. Is it not obvious that all these terms, intelligibility, standard, good, evil, progress, evolution are completely meaningless without reference to something permanent, to something which can permanently contemplate and judge of occurrences? It may be that there is no such permanence, but if so the optimistic mood of the modern mind is a pure delusion and an unaccountable obses-

sion. It cannot endure, and, in truth, it is not enduring. If we look around us to-day we cannot fail to see that the accident of war and depression is gradually causing the pessimism of a few intellectual leaders to spread among the masses who lately basked in the empty optimism of the philosophy of comfort, social reform, and scientific progress. It may one day return, but for the moment it is confined to the few spirits who are, in the words of Russell, "proudly defiant of the irresistible forces that tolerate for a moment man's knowledge and his condemnation, to sustain alone a weary but unyielding Atlas, the world that his own ideals have fashioned despite the trampling march of unconscious power."

What are these ideals? Human liberty and the toleration of private opinions; the defence of the rights that accompany personality, the maintenance of the principles of democratic rule and the improvement of social conditions.

The first two, liberty and toleration, are negative. Liberty can only be said to be an ideal at all so long as one specifies from *what* a man must be free. It is obviously a good thing that a man should be free to escape from a fire or from a madman's clutch. But is it necessarily a good thing that he should be free from obeying the policeman at point of duty? Put like this, the matter seems elementary, but when we substitute for fire serious moral temptation and for the policeman the authority of Church or State, a crop of difficulties arises which prevents the modern mind or any other mind from giving an immediate answer. Is it better that a man should face moral temptation, and, by going through the fire, strengthen his resisting powers? When is the authority of the State abused, when does the Church go beyond its legitimate sphere, and so on! It is clear that the moment you deal neither with the abstract and meaningless word, Liberty, nor with concrete examples, a whole host of definite problems arises and the ideal of Liberty whether symbolised by a statue at the entrance to the chief port of a great republic or as figuring at the head of the Constitution of many modern States is in itself useless as a guide. But the moment liberty is related to a complete philosophy of conduct, as it is in Catholicism, light is thrown on its value. For the Catholic, liberty is one side of a medal which we may call law, and the reverse side is authority. Just as there are laws which govern physics and chemistry, just as animals follow the law of their nature which instinctively guides them to the perfection of which they are capable, so there is a law, a rule of life, by following which man can attain the higher perfection of his vocation. This law, which we call the Will of God, looked at from God's angle and from the angle of those who in various ways represent God's authority, whether it be the Church, the State or each individual Conscience or Reason, is an au-

thority; looked at from man's angle when he is faced with the duty of obedience, it is liberty. It is liberty to discover what the proper authority is and liberty to follow that authority or to reject it. Liberty is no empty idea, it is the human prerogative which enables man to take the law unto himself rather than follow it blindly. When a Catholic speaks of increasing liberty, he means strengthening his intellect to see his duty and his will to do it. It does not follow that no problems arise, that the way to the good life is lighted by a star of Bethlehem, but at least the problem of conduct is looked at from a realistic angle. The goal is known, the only puzzle is the choice of routes, especially in misty weather, whereas for the modern mind the goal itself is said to be liberty to choose any route, even if it be the wrong one.

Analogous reasoning applies to toleration. Not toleration, but final intolerance is the ultimate ideal, since all that *is*, by the very fact that it is, excludes and rejects what *is not*. Toleration can only be a virtue through uncertainty, and the modern mind when it makes it into an end for its own sake is confessing that it is making uncertainty also an end in itself.

The three final ideals are indeed positive, but they are a poor way of encouraging a man to forget the pessimism which is the only logical deduction from modern premises.

The rights of personality, the right, that is, which each person has to be himself, to realise the potentialities of his nature, have little meaning until we are clear about *how* his potentialities are best realised. "Rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek, in general, to be himself at his best," writes H. J. Laski. This is little more than tautology. The notion of a right to be oneself is hardly more illuminative than the statement that oneself is oneself. Obviously a person has a right to be himself, and himself means himself at his best. The point of interest is what are the qualities which form a best self; to what has a man a right, if he is to achieve the best that is in him? No answer can be given to this question, except in terms of a consistent and complete philosophy of life. The answer depends on knowing both the origin and the end of life. Without this knowledge any statement about rights is bound to be so vague and general that it will cover anything a man likes to mean or feel by it. Unless we believe that each and every human being has something eternally valuable about him, something which if removed from the world can never be replaced, what reason have we, for example, for refusing to sacrifice him for the attainment of a temporary advantage which would result to Society or to another human being from this sacrifice? Even the Greeks, with their insight into the value of Truth and Goodness, saw no reason for valuing the mere fact of human per-

sonality, for they valued intellect and beauty more than a mere man whom they had no reason to believe to be made to the image of God. The modern insistence on this unique value of each person is due to surviving religious feelings, the fruit of Christian dogma, rather than to intellectual conviction. The callousness which spread over the world during the war might have been understood in an age when it was the common belief that another life would compensate for the injustice of the present one, it would be incomprehensible in these days when so many believe this life to be the "end-all," unless it is purely a matter of the prevalent *feeling* whether we value human beings just because they are human beings, or not. The same lesson is revealed by the consequences of the modern feeling of ultra-nationalism which can so over-ride every other consideration that the manufacture of poison gas, the construction of hideous engines of war at vast cost are gladly undertaken. And yet the people who can countenance such proceedings, when caught in another mood of animal sympathy, will combine to protect the life of a criminal who has committed a *crime passionnel* or to abolish capital punishment altogether as being too brutal. On the tyrannous arbitrariness of such different feelings rests the protection of the rights of man.

We have already said enough to make it clear that the maintenance of democratic rule and the amelioration of social conditions are ideals perhaps too precious to be entrusted to the philosophy of the modern mind. Democracy is something spiritual; it is the assertion that in a society in which it is held to be a vital spiritual truth that every man has something unique and valuable about him, that something must be allowed to have some "say" in the ordering of a public life whose end is the protection of the spirituality and, in the real sense of the word, liberty of each citizen. The modern mind *feels* this to be true because of its spiritual inheritance, but we will allow Mr. Russell to tell us what the intellectual philosophy of the modern mind will eventually bring about: "Christian ethics is in certain fundamental respects opposed to the scientific ethics which is gradually growing up. Christianity emphasises the importance of the individual soul, and is not prepared to sanction the sacrifice of an innocent man for the sake of some ulterior good to the majority. The new ethic will have its eye upon society rather than upon the individual." It is hardly necessary to make any further comment. We spoke of the cosmic moods of the modern mind, but it would be more accurate to speak of only one mood, the mood of optimism which is based upon passing feelings of pleasure at the contemplation of those moral and social achievements of modern society which are due to what survives of Christianity. Since the faith of Christianity has been rejected, those achievements are piecemeal and unconnected

by any spiritual and rational plan, they are mingled with exaggeration and error and fall a prey to the first critic. The latter's clear ideas dissipate this optimistic mood, and in its stead there reigns a pessimism which is truly based upon the intellectual conviction of the emptiness of life without God, without immortality, without purpose, without standards, without future. To make a final quotation from Mr. Russell, "there is little but prejudice and habit to be said for the view that there is a world at all." This is what the modern mind has made of its great inheritance. The pleadings of King David in the psalms, the immortal verse of Shakespeare, the glory of Giotto's tower in Flor-

ence, the beauty of the fall of golden leaves in autumn, the silence of the moon-lit sea, the tiny child's first prayer to God—all these proclaim the awful falsity of this last conclusion of the modern mind. But too many who understand that this is so are afraid to ask themselves how much more than is evident at first sight is implied by this evidence of prayer, beauty and faith in our world. Unless they are prepared to follow the steps that lead to God and from God back to man whom God has made to His likeness and for His purpose, they will find themselves caught in the fatally logical philosophy which makes them deny and destroy the evidence of their hearts, and their senses, and their minds.

COMMENT

This extremely stimulating essay is a specimen of the resurgence of Catholic Philosophy now going on in Europe, and represented by such writers as the above, Maritain, Gilson, Father D'Arcy, Chesterton, Belloc, Christopher Dawson, Ronald Knox, Father Martindale, Alfred Noyes, and others. Karl Adam, in Germany, has had an immense influence in recent years.



Present Economic Distress

Pastoral Address by the Archbishops and Bishops of New Zealand, 1931

The Causes of Our Present Troubles

WE are living in difficult times. A wave of financial depression is passing over the world.

Business is stagnant; unemployment is the lot of millions, and there are millions who have little between them and starvation. Happily, thank God, our own Dominion is not affected to the same extent as other places.

All this is going on in the wealthiest countries which have within their boundaries immense resources, abundant supplies of food, of material for clothing and housing, and of all things necessary or useful to support life for their people, not only in comfort, but even in luxury, were they being properly utilized.

The Economic System

What is the reason for such a state of affairs today? It would seem that the industrial economic system, like the great machine that it is, has got beyond the control of those who guide it. There can be no question but that it has failed and failed miserably in our times to promote a fair and equitable distribution of wealth, or even to ensure regular and constant employment for all those willing and anxious to work. It is at the best like all things human, an imperfect and faulty system. But its worst feature is that it leaves itself open to manipulation by selfish and crafty men against the interests of the people.

The world-wide trouble of today is not due entirely to a faulty machine. Such depressions have been recurring in the wealthier countries with greater frequency during the last half century. They do not cause themselves. Behind every one of them is a human act, or rather a series of human acts.

A False Philosophy of Life

A certain policy, or might we call it a philosophy of life, has for years past controlled the business world. It has been proclaimed by its followers and votaries as a heaven-sent system, which would make for the real progress and betterment of humanity. But, examined in the light of facts, it is a system which has made the wage-earner a part-time worker on an insufficient wage, while it has allowed the sources of wealth to flow into the hands of a gradually diminishing minority of the people.

It has proved itself a system, which to be frank, is built on greed and injustice, "so that," in the words of the great Pope Leo XIII, "a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the

teeming masses of the laboring poor a yoke little less than that of slavery itself."

Weakened Religious Fiber

And the evil has been further intensified by the fact that not only the great and powerful, but the masses of men have to a large extent, turned away from God and neglected His Law. There has been a weakening of the religious fiber in almost every country. Yet the root of our present economic and industrial difficulties is a moral one, and unless men face this fact, all the remedies that are being suggested in the Press and on the platform, will turn out to be mere palliatives—a putting off of the evil day, and the next world depression will be a more frightful one than the present.

You cannot divorce economics from the moral law, and still continue to have prosperity, peace and happiness amongst the nations.

Remedies for Existing Evils

Now the Christian religion is the custodian and interpreter of the moral law, and in its teachings will be found the only remedies for the evils which afflict us today.

Return to Christian Principles

Forty years ago the great Pope Leo wrote:

On this subject we need but recall for one moment the examples recorded in history. Of these facts there can not be any shadow of doubt: for instance, that civil society was renovated in every part by the teachings of Christianity; that in the strength of that renewal, the human race was lifted up to better things; that it was brought back from death to life, and to so excellent a life that nothing more perfect had been known before, or will come to be known in the ages that have yet to be. It is beneficent transformation, Jesus Christ was at once the First Cause and the Final End; as from Him all came, so to Him was all to be brought back. And if society is to be healed now, in no other way can it be healed save by a return to Christian life and to Christian institutions. (*On the Condition of the Working Classes.*)

These words are even more applicable today than they were forty years ago, and if man, both rulers and the ruled, would pay heed to them, the outlook would be a more hopeful one. There must be a change of heart, not only amongst those who control the destinies of nations, but amongst the people themselves.

All must acknowledge their mistake in seeking elsewhere than in God and the observance of the Christian precepts their real prosperity and true happiness in life.

The Governments' Part

Governments should check by wise laws the exploitation of the people by the great and powerful. They should aim at bringing about a better distribution of wealth, for instance, by developing the land, which contains the real riches of the country, and by encouraging the private ownership of small businesses and industries.

And, above all, let rulers and people agree to bring back God and religious teaching into the schools wherein the young are trained, and from which they are at present banished. For you can not have a religious people without Christian education.

The Family; Individuals

Then again, the Christian family must be restored to its proper status; and all practices which tend towards the loosening of the marriage bond, or to degrade its sacred nature and frustrate its true purpose, should be discouraged by those in power as well as by all lovers of their country.

Let women also pay more attention to their proper sphere of life, which many nowadays are in danger of deserting, with unfortunate consequences for the home and family, and ultimately for the race.

Let more thrift and economy be practised by all, especially in regard to certain kinds of pleasure and amusements which bring with them neither health, happiness, nor prosperity.

A Spirit of Faith Needed

Of course, we know full well that such changes can not be brought about by artificial or political means alone. They must be the product of a spirit of faith. They presuppose in the majority of men a living practical faith in the teachings of Christianity,—in a word, they demand a civilization which acknowledges the rights of God in the public life of the State.

We exhort our Catholic people to be the foremost in giving an example of this change of heart and attitude towards life. Though others are concerned with the solution of the social and economic problems which face the world, Catholics have opportunities in the matter that others have not. We have the voice of the Church, which proclaims definitely and clearly the teachings of the Gospel and of the natural law. These, if followed by all, would end the trouble.

In our own times, from Leo XIII down to our present illustrious Pontiff, Pius XI, this teaching has been insisted upon time and again.

The more educated of our people should give heed to the words of Pope Pius and strive to acquire an intelligent grasp of the principles of our holy religion on all these questions.

With this object in view, it might not be out of place to urge upon Catholic societies, young men's

clubs, and the like, to form reading circles and study clubs.

Being yourselves "instructed in the way of the Lord," you can help others to a better knowledge of much that will be useful in acquiring a true idea of the causes and remedies of the world trouble. Every Catholic should consider it his duty to foster and spread the truth.

Co-operation All Round

Let our people, then, be ever ready to co-operate with the State and public bodies in their efforts to ameliorate distress and afford relief to those in need. They should take a greater interest in our own charitable societies, such, for instance, as the St. Vincent de Paul Society, which, because of its long and world-wide experience, can be of great help in the present emergency. Nor must our people forget the duty of giving alms according to their means.

This is one of the best ways in which to help.

We are but the stewards of the material goods that we possess, and we are bound to share them if necessary, with others less fortunate than ourselves. "According to thy ability be merciful," says Holy Scripture. "If thou have much give abundantly; if thou have little take care even so to bestow willingly a little" (Tob. iv, 8). And again: "He that soweth in blessings shall also reap in blessings" (II Cor. ix, 6).

In helping the less fortunate, you will be helping yourselves, and making of yourselves better Christians. It will foster in you a greater love of your fellow-men, as well as make you more grateful to God for what you have, and more appreciative of His blessings. "He that giveth to the poor shall not want" (Prov. xxviii, 27).

Employers must endeavor to show every consideration of their employees at the present time. Let them remember that the latter are not mere machines or commodities, but human beings, like themselves, and deserve to be treated as such. Those higher up must share in the sacrifices that will be necessary. Employees are not to forget that they have duties and serious obligations to those who employ them. But if both sides are prepared to give and take and strive to act towards each other with justice and charity, more harmony and good fellowship will prevail, and these things are invaluable helps in every crisis.

Catholic Building Encouraged

We desire that our parishes and religious institutions should put in hand even sooner than had been intended any building schemes in contemplation, provided such works are justified by the needs of the place, and that the financing of them is within their power. In this way, a useful contribution can be made towards solving the evil of unemployment.

Finally, all classes and sections of the community should be convinced of their obligation to do their

part in bringing about an improvement in the conditions of the country, not only material, but spiritual. Let all resolve to work unitedly for the greater good of the Dominion. In union there is strength, and perhaps never before in our history has united effort been more necessary.

Confidence in God's Providence

As Pope Leo XIII reminded us forty years ago, the Church is not so wholly occupied with the spiritual concerns of men that she has no time to think of their material welfare.

It is the will of God that men should live in a material world, and have to take account of their temporal needs. Therefore it is that we felt moved to address you, and while drawing attention to some of the causes of our present troubles and suggesting remedies, at the same time utter words of hope and confidence in the future. While it is true that we have not here a lasting city, we are all bound to strive to make this world a happier and a more pleasant place to live in.

Let us have complete confidence in the gracious Providence of God, Who feedeth the birds of the air,

and without Whose heed not even "a sparrow falleth on the ground."

In spite of the present unfavorable condition, we can look with courage and hope to a lifting of the clouds. Were we to judge only according to nature, there might not seem much reason for optimism in regard to the future. The best of business organizations cannot, indeed, be expected to solve successfully everyone of the many problems now facing them. But grace has always surprises in store; the light and force of the Holy Spirit working independently in human hearts, and through our prayer and good example, can effect results beyond our hope of achieving.

Wherever there is true and living faith, reason returns to men, and with it a better chance of overcoming our difficulties.

We, therefore, earnestly exhort you all to invoke frequently during these days, the aid of the Holy Spirit that He may deign to enlighten and strengthen the minds and hearts of those responsible in high places for the government of the Dominion, and guide them and all the people committed to their care in the ways of peace and prosperity.



On Social Disorder and Its Cure

MOST REVEREND TIMOTHY CORBETT, D.D.

The following pastoral, addressed by the Bishop of Crookston, Minnesota, to the clergy and faith of his Diocese, was published on the Feast of the Holy Rosary, October 7, 1931.

MANKIND witnesses at present a growing discontent among a multitude of men, whose spirit of disorder, rebellion and anarchy, assumes an alarming aspect. At the consideration of their scanty wages, their meager support, their shabby clothing, their lowly homes, men envy the seeming happiness and luxury of the wealthy. No longer satisfied with the necessities of life, people seek the superfluous and sumptuous goods. The pronounced distinction between the rich and the poor, the contrast between the wealthy residential districts and the homes of the poor, the affluence on the one side and the need on the other, all tend to intensify popular unrest. The bond of sympathy between capital and labor is practically severed. Labor is bought and sold; capital would appropriate the lion's share. Millions of men are obliged to accept a miserable pittance to avert hunger and distress. The capitalist bewails the unscrupulousness, the independence, the spirit of antagonism, the lack of economy and painstaking, the dishonesty and inactivity of the workingman, while the laborer complains that the interests of the employers in his behalf are only aroused when their dividends begin to decrease. Equality, say many, should reign among all human beings.

Notorious Platform Speakers

Perverse agitators arouse the multitude, for their own selfish ends, with high sounding promises of comfort, peace and happiness. Cheap food, cheap clothing, placid rest, no taxation, unrestrained enjoyment, such is the clamor of those deluded mortals, who impress the masses with their theories replete with merriment, but destructive of order, law and religion. Their dominant war cry is that private property must be confiscated and placed under the administration of municipal bodies for the benefit of all citizens. Society must assume possession of all the means and instruments of production and distribution of goods, for where there is no capital no poverty exists. Wealth should be distributed among the poor, whose right it is to capture the fortunes of the rich, and whose joy should be to await the happy and fortunate day on which to seize the goods of others. Men burdened with tedious occupations, lengthened hours, and dragging along a miserable existence in filth and poverty, have the power, socialism asserts, to terrify the hearts of the employers and appropriate their possessions. Human beings should follow their natural tendency

to assume what is pleasurable, say they, and to covet the goods of others.

Ruinous Doctrine

The new systems would have the State abolish the sanction of the marriage contract, which is to terminate at the will of either party to the contract. No God, no interference of God in the universe, no life beyond the tomb, no immortality, no knowledge beyond material things and their laws, no eternity, death ends all, behold the anti-social boast of those corruptors of morals and subverters of order. Eternity is their dread. Extolling the inventions of the age, free-thinkers excite people by word of mouth and pen with their senseless notions that the Eternal and Omnipotent God is the Unknown and the Unknowable, and that the dark future is uncertain. Socialism would recognize no authority, parental authority would vanish under its reign, children would become the property of the State, and consequently the family, the basis of society, would be destroyed. Wildly does socialism expatiate on the rights of men, but no thought on the rights of God, the Creator of all things, Whom indeed they irrationally consider a myth. Thus socialists and bolsheviki are bringing ruin to the world. Pope Leo XIII condemned communism and socialism as against the principles of morality and religion.

Modern Theories

The principles of modern theories afford the workingman no consolation, comfort or relief. Workers, say the agitators, society needs your work; therefore you must labor on. Your condition, workers, is ameliorated as much progress has been made and interest on capital has decreased. Sad, indeed, is your lot, workingman. You pray, but God is too far off to hear or grant your petition. Politicians loudly boast that new plans are being formed for the welfare of the workingman, to be undoubtedly realized after the next election. Workingmen, say other agitators, assert your common rights; you are kings of the visible creation and of the hour, unite for strength, destroy, revolutionize society. Workingman, proclaim some, society is as on wheels, stop work, and victory will be yours. Nature, science, progress, reason, honor, such are the favorite utterances of deluded thinking machines, who thus excite, blindfold and mislead the crowds to misery, troubles and ruin.

The Sensible Workingman Finds No Consolation in These Theories

The sensible workingman, finding no consolation nor comfort in these empty theories, nor any relief for his wants, is obliged to work and struggle on, despite the futile utterances of the litterateur, the baseless arguments of the worldly economist, the dire doctrines of the irreligious philosopher, the repeated promises of the cunning politician and the savage and brutal exhortations of the anarchist. He is fully convinced that law and order and not might should govern rational beings, and is profoundly impressed with the fatal consequences of continued inactivity, and that mere science and philosophy are too cold in face of pain, sorrow and trouble. Mortals therefore must rationally conclude that all modern theories and endeavors are powerless to cure the ills of humanity, and to take from labor the pain that renders it unacceptable to the majority of men.

The Church of Rome Alone Possesses the Cure for Human Ills

Only one institution on earth possesses the remedy for human misery, pain, poverty and labor troubles, the Catholic Church. Her salutary doctrine tolerates no violation of any principle of right and justice, nor sacrifices one iota of the selfsame doctrine of Christ, her Founder, which she has ever preserved pure and unadulterated amid trying persecutions, schisms, heresies and apostasies of the centuries. The Church has changed the face of the earth in bygone ages by bringing society to the feet of the Redeemer of mankind. That same power, the world should understand, is absolutely needed today to repair and renew modern society in God, and thus calm the present social storms. The Church inculcates a sense of duty to the millions of poor by continuing Christ's work of counseling peace, self-denial and forbearance. To remove social discontent she gently cures the human heart and intellect, softening the one and dispelling the errors of the other, and thus bettering the condition of the toiling masses by bringing a spirit of contentment among them and a sense of justice among the masters. Men should recognize God, the Church insists, as a just judge, able and ready to sanctify and reward honest labor, to vindicate the claims of justice and to punish crime. Peace in the midst of poverty and trouble would be the result of such salutary thoughts. Men would therefore condemn all resistance to lawful authority as contrary to justice and offensive to Almighty God. Revolutionary methods will never be sanctioned by loyal and practical Catholics who regard the life here below as a brief pilgrimage, ending in a glorious eternity.

Hatred of the Church

Infidels, materialists, socialists detest the Church, and vainly employ all earthly means to place the last sod on her time-honored brow, because she is the uncompromising enemy of all systems that tend to ruin religion, lawful authority, the State, society, and the matrimonial bond. Should the Church preach religion without God, and the other destructive schemes of communism, socialism and anarchy that are disorganizing society the world over, the Church would then gain popular approbation. Her staunch conservatism in the right and her clinging to Christ's doctrine despite the fiercest persecutions is the bone of contention. The Catholic Church never changes her creed.

Triumph of the Church

At the advent of Christ, the Divine Redeemer, well known slavery abounded. The poor and suffering were neglected, and womanhood was in disgrace. Genuine history testifies that Christ's divine Spouse, the Church, vanquished slavery. Pope Paul III and Pope Benedict XIV issued apostolic condemnations against anyone daring to enslave the Indians of America. The Church elevated womanhood, reared asylums, hospitals and orphanages for the destitute, sick and homeless. Infanticide, savagery, brutality and domestic discord yielded to her regenerating forces. The Church subdued the heathen race not by the use of the sword, but by the power of the gospel and the charity which she exercised toward human outcasts and laborers. The direct object of the Church does not embrace politics, the formation of government, nor the establishment of industries, her primary mission being truly to save souls by the grace of God. The solution of society ills is contained in the principles she inculcates for the guidance of human conduct. Were these principles thoroughly observed, labor troubles, violence, graft and uncharitableness would cease to exist. Christ the divine Founder of the Church, made no effort to improve the political and social conditions of the people. His entire life and all acts tended to their spiritual betterment. In pursuing the direct and supreme object of winning souls, however, Christ and His Church accomplished more for the benefit of men in their various avocations than any human theory of economy. As the Church was in the beginning the refuge of the oppressed and the protectress of labor, she alone can effectively deal with the intricacies of modern labor. Catholicity, through the teachings of Christ, fosters contentment and unites mortals in sympathy, forbearance and respect. Slave labor the Church withstood in the past, without the abolition of society, and today she alone can master the greed of capitalists and calm the discontentment of laborers by that influence over the human mind and heart that God gave to

her. The workingman of today should heed the counsels of the Church. She gave the laboring man liberty when he was a slave, she nursed him gently and consolingly when he was a serf, and she made him contented and happy by the spirit of piety and charity when he was a craftsman.

Equality and Inequality of Man

The Church rationally holds that men are created equal, possess the same human nature, the same Omnipotent Creator, God, and are brothers in Christ Jesus. Each by faithfully serving God may equally obtain salvation, but inequality in other respects prevails elsewhere. Inequality is inevitably necessary in society. No two men are really equal in mental and physical abilities. Difference of wealth has existed in every age. Christ solemnly declared "that the poor you have always with you" (Matt. 26-2). Pain, sorrow and hardships will ever follow a man from the cradle to the grave amid disappointments and delusions. Riches, the Church says, should be employed to procure eternal life.

The Rights of Property

The rights of property, according to the tenets of the Church, are based on the immutable and eternal laws of God, Whose command is "Thou shalt not steal." Justice and right are above the will of man. Man has a natural right to acquire and retain property which is one of the ordinary means of sustaining life, which right socialism would destroy. The practice of all ages has consecrated the principle of private ownership. Indeed, the same principle is confirmed and enforced by civil law. The divine law forbids to covet that which is another's. No organization may rationally and justly claim the right to dispose of another's goods. A Catholic is bound in conscience to abandon the Socialist Party, for it is morally wrong to sanction stealing, to destroy legitimate authority, to disrupt the family, to loosen the matrimonial bond, to rob man of his belief in God, to confiscate property without due compensation and deny the authority of the one, true, catholic, apostolic and infallible Church.

The Capitalist

The admonition of the Church to the capitalist is that human beings are to be valued more than bricks, mortar or irrational animals, that every man should possess sufficient means wherewith to meet the necessities of life. Woe, exclaims the Church to the employers who grind money out of the poor, who treat them with less consideration than their instruments of labor, who injure their physical power by excessive labor, who force them to work at inadequate wages, who deprive workingmen of due time for their religious duties, and expose them to

neglect their families and homes. The workingman must not be regarded as a mere machine of flesh and bones to be used to accumulate wealth and when exhausted to be cast away. On the contrary, he must be revered as a brother in Christ, a soul created by God and for God, a moral and intellectual being. Every man has a spirit with eternal destinies, is a beloved child of the heavenly Father, a sharer in the solicitude of God for his betterment here and hereafter, God's dearest object, however, being his eternal salvation. The poorest and lowliest child that walks our streets is worth more than cities, States, Kingdoms, and Empires. He has an immortal soul, stamped with the image of God, and destined to possess God for all eternity. Nothing is of such immense value as an immortal soul. All else is subject to dissolution, decay and death. "What exchange shall man give for his soul," says Christ. Disorders are threatening the world over because men have become selfish in seeking too much their own interests, and employing unjust means in work, business, and official positions to elevate and enrich themselves to the detriment of their fellow beings. Capitalists there are who spend large sums of money on useless and ridiculous fads in place of reclaiming the wicked and relieving the wants and misery of their employees, on whose labor they live and thrive and prosper. Their gorgeous display of fashion arouses the envy of the passing crowds. Numerous capitalists appear to think of their employees only when they wish to get more work out of them. The wonder is how such men can satisfy their conscience before God in regard to the great obligation of assisting the less fortunate. Workingmen better treated will do more for the cause of their employers and will be more loyal to their person. Capital and labor certainly depend on one another. Intimate union should exist between them, the capitalists becoming fathers to the workingmen.

The Laborer

The right of every man to bread or work is a natural right. Public authorities should protect the industrious working class in procuring the necessary means of livelihood. Man has a right to a living wage and decent living. The honest workingman demands not alms but work and fair treatment. He should be able to obtain ample recompense not merely for the necessities of life, but also to keep himself and family in reasonable comfort and to put his own home on his own property. Homes, let it be said, are truly feeders of patriotism. The wage, moreover, should be sufficient to enable the laborer to perform Christian duties, occasional acts of charity and to provide for hard times, sickness and old age. The laborer must learn to be obedient to his employer in all things just. He should promote the interest of the employer, scrupulously protect his

goods and do his day's work conscientiously. Would that perverse agitators, spurred on for their own welfare, cease in their efforts to convince the multitude that heaven is a dream, eternity an illusion and hell a priestly scare. Let men be imbued with the idea that there is no God, then there is no restraint to the torrents of iniquity. Why waste their energy for their fellowmen if they must die like brutes! Extinguish in the human soul the hope of a future life and the belief in a general judgment, what power will then calm the enraged multitude! Humanity must possess pleasure in fact or in hope, otherwise it will seek it in rebellion.

God Must Have His Place in Human Affairs

Willingly or unwillingly, man must give God His rightful place in human affairs, otherwise misery, misfortune and troubles will ensue. God must receive His rights in the nation, in the state, in society, in the school, and in the industrial world. Experience should have long since convinced man that a nation will eventually crumble without the recognition of the supreme legislator, God. No moral order, no law can prevail without God, who has the absolute right to command His creatures. Ignorance of the sovereign power of God engenders brute force which begets disorder, revolution and anarchy. When God is not recognized, man is treated as a slave. All authority must have its binding force from God, the pre-existent law-giver. Religion secures the tranquillity of the State, makes the clement ruler and the faithful subject, who under the influence of religion submits to State authority from conscientious motives. Morality, divorced from religion, dies. The government of society is gradually becoming more and more difficult, because the principle of authority, God, is ignored. The exercise of authority often generates aversion and strife, the ruler being considered as a tyrant, against whom it is lawful to rebel. To obey is regarded by numerous individuals a degradation and a shame. Irrational is it to expect a man to submit to human authority when it rejects divine authority. Mere gold cannot make or preserve society, no less than create morality. The formation of society without God is to dig its own grave. Godless society is robbed of all safeguards; within it crime is committed without the dread of punishment, and the vilest passions of the vilest men rush on without control. Men of the century! Over the doors of the homes of your industries is written "Progress," but know you that Christ Jesus is the God and Law and History of genuine progress. Would that the world understood that without God there are only bitterness, troubles and despair. The further society departs from God, the more numerable and unbearable will be the social miseries. The nearer man approaches God, the happier he will grow. A return to Christ's doctrine and

the blessed Spouse, His Church, means a renovation of society, of men's hearts and minds and the reign of peace and contentment. The Church exhorts men to be satisfied with their condition in life, and warns them that their aim must not be to enrich themselves, but to acquire virtue and to await their reward beyond the tomb. Catholicity holds that human beings are not to live in extravagance, that riches gathered at the cost of dishonesty and human misery are not blessed, that wealth should be a means to a higher life, despite the worldly tendency of today toward money and pleasure. The constant endeavor of the Church is to draw the rich and poor together by reminding them of their duties of charity, fraternity and mutual assistance. Only then will end the long and hard struggle between capital and labor.

The Honor of Poverty

Holy Mother Church wisely proclaims that poverty is not dishonorable. Christ, the Divine Master, selected poverty for His portion. Born in poverty, living in poverty, teaching by the wayside, the seashore, and on the mountain top, not even having a place whereon to lay His head, our divine Saviour died in poverty. Humanity needed a God of poverty. Having abused the value of riches in the pursuit of manifold pleasures, mankind forgot that the true character of man must be measured not by wealth, power, influence or position, but by his moral courage to combat the evils of life. Poverty elevates man's character and prepares him for great achievements. "Woe to you rich," says the Eternal Truth, that is they that trust in riches. "Amen, I say to you," says Christ, "that a rich man shall hardly enter into the Kingdom of Heaven." Again says Christ, "blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven" (Matt. 19, 23).

The Catholic Church is in closer union with the poor than any other organization. Christ founded the Church for all men, but the lowly and the poor she presses to her bosom as a delightful mother. The Church builds spacious temples, within the sacred walls of which the people, whether rich or poor, enter without distinction, and find peace and consolation for their weary hearts. In all her legislation the Church impartially considers the interests of her people. She raises altars on which the Sacrifice of Calvary is renewed in expiation of the sins of mankind, and as a source of innumerable graces to immortal souls. Behold her baptismal font, where the rich and poor alike are cleansed of original sin; her confessional, where her children are indiscriminately received, their souls gently cured, kindly consoled and wisely directed; the Communion rail at which the rich and the poor assist at the same spiritual banquet, and receive their Eucharistic God, the Author and Fountain of all graces, the Creator and

Preserver, the Supreme Judge of mankind, our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. The Church truly fosters the bond of union, fraternal charity, and love of neighbor in gathering around her common Communion Table the children of all classes and nationalities, within her sacred realm to eat the Bread of Life. From Catholic pulpits resound the sweetest and tenderest echoes for the consolation and strength and encouragement of the poor and suffering.

The clergy of the Church is ever ready both night and day even at the risk of their lives, to give spiritual, and if necessary, temporal assistance to the people in the various walks of life.

Labor

Labor is necessary for both body and soul. "If any man will not work, neither let him eat," says St. Paul. Labor is indispensable for the cultivation of the human intellect and the provision for the wants of life. "Man is born to labor," says Holy Scripture. The soul suffers without work. "Idleness," says the Bible, "has taught much sin." Where inactivity reigns, social disorders ensue. Society to be healthy must work, although most men naturally prefer rest to labor. Prior to the original fall, man was obliged to work. "And the Lord took man and put him into paradise to dress and keep it." Subsequent to Adam's fall, labor is compulsory. Work is to be a just punishment of Adam's transgression. "In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread." Anterior to the dawn of Christianity, labor was regarded as slavery and dishonor. Born in labor, grown up in labor, Christ passed His life in labor to win men to the all important truth that happiness does not consist in mundane enjoyment, but in the performance of duty and in sacrifice. Christ was more destitute than the poorest child of the poorest workingman, thus casting a halo around the brow of the workingman. Mary, His mother, was a working woman. St. Joseph, His foster father, was a working man. The Apostles and the first followers were working men. Christ placed as pillars of His one, true, catholic, apostolic and infallible Church two workingmen, St. Peter, a fisherman, and St. Paul, a tent-maker. Workingmen, behold the dignity of your calling. Of all classes of society, you belong more to the Saviour of mankind. The Church always favored labor. See how monastic orders cultivated large tracts of barren lands. What impetus she gave to intellectual work. Behold the masterpieces of art, painting and architecture that came to light under her genial inspiration. See across the centuries her long lines of geniuses, the beacon lights of learning in every age.

If work is so blessed by God, whence come those social evils in the world, Labor 's not the cause thereof, but too little of needful rest, hard work

without limitation, inadequate wages. Armies of human beings are kept busy night and day to satisfy the extravagant demands of luxury. Excessive work brutalizes man. Mother Church wishes that man should rest fifty-two Sundays in the year, and also on her established feast days. Time must be allowed for work for God, for religious instruction, the saving of one's soul and for the home and family. But the essential cause of labor evils is that labor is ceasing to recognize Christ, the model. The new theories are turning the human mind away from God. The idea of God, Who commanded labor, and the idea of heaven, the reward of honest labor, are being banished from the soul of the working man. Infidelity is endeavoring to banish Christ from the workshop and labor is being heathenized. The new methods fail to touch the heart of humanity, which must be penetrated by the true religion of Christ before social disorders disappear. Can no substitute be found for the religion of Christ as taught in the Catholic Church? Many have been tried, but failed. A mere police force, socialism, which destroys private ownership, the Christian constitution of the family, duly established authority and legitimate existing institutions, and the courts show themselves powerless in the face of iniquity and disorder. Education without God has wrecked morality. National patriotism in place of Christian love of Country has bred traitors and led to wars of annihilation. Divorce has ruined the family, the basis of society.

Happiness

Let working men understand that happiness is distinct from money and possessions. Happiness, oftentimes, reigns better in the hut than in the marble palace. Men of wealth frequently live sadly and die sadly. Wealth cannot fill the aching void that makes life weary. What heart-rending sorrows are found in luxurious homes! The poor of Christ, generally, pass out of this vale of tears joyfully, awaiting to meet Him, Whom they served in season and out of season. Complete surrender to God is the royal road to eternal and temporal happiness. Man's nature must be spiritualized. His spiritual wants far exceed in importance his material wants. The true religion of Christ alone, as taught in the Catholic Church, holds the secret of mitigating man's woes, binding up his wounds and smoothing over the troubles of life. The Catholic Church, the standard of truth and the true bearer of Christ's moral code and the truest friend of the working man has within her bosom the sovereign remedy for social discontent in promoting the betterment of the world by the exact law of Christ. The Church teaches neither hatred for the rich, nor contempt for the poor, nor disregard for all legitimate authority. She makes the poor more contented and the rich more considerate, that which no human power can accomplish. No

love but the love of Christ, as preached in the Catholic Church, can drive the greed out of men and make them deal with temporal goods unselfishly. The gospel of Christ is opposed to the gospel of greed. Let all men understand that perfect happiness, for which man was created, cannot be found on earth. Riches, worldly honors and pleasure cannot satisfy the human heart, which craves for God and God

alone. "This is happiness to rejoice in anticipation of Thee, in Thee and for Thy sake," says St. Augustine.

✠ TIMOTHY CORBETT,
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Given at Crookston on October 7th, 1931,
on the feast of the Holy Rosary.



The Mind of the Church and Social Legislation

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THE PRIMARY mission of the Catholic Church is to make known to men the claims of God on their love and service. The burden of her message is that He is "the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end," and, that He has a right to expect the first place in their thoughts and actions. The vision which she conjures up is that of another world where eternal happiness will be the portion of those who have lived up to the injunction to "render to God the things that are God's." Time and again she reminds her children that they have not here an abiding city; that their real destiny is to labor for the life to come; that this life is only a stepping stone to a never ending existence and that earthly goods are only a means for laying up treasures in heaven.

"That which is at present momentary and light of our tribulation worketh for us above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory. While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen. For the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal" (2 Cor. iv, 17-18).

That we may the more readily acknowledge God's position in our regard, it is sufficient to remember that He is our Creator. As the Psalmist says: "He made us and not we ourselves." "His hands have moulded us and fashioned us wholly round about." "All things were made by Him and without Him was made nothing that was made" (Gen. i, 3). "God created man to His own image and likeness" (Gen. i, 27).

Let us reflect a moment on the fact that a few years ago we did not exist. We were nothing. The meanest flower that blew, the vilest insect that crawled on the surface of the earth had a grandeur denied to us. They at least throbbed with life and motion, while we were engulfed in a darkness that has no counterpart even in the abyss of gloom which the imagination associates with the grave. The world in all its activity and harmony and beauty rolled on, but about us surged the overwhelming silence of nothing.

Then, at a certain moment God reached out and breathed into us the spirit of life. We became conscious of ourselves and of our surroundings. The

scales, as it were, fell from our eyes, the winding-sheet unrolled from our limbs. The string of our tongue was loosened and sounds echoed in our ears. The blood coursed through our veins and all the faculties of our soul and body awoke from their lethargy. Our wills were tuned to the music of good. Our hearts became sensitive to impressions of beauty and our minds received their capacity for truth.

Friendship and love and honor and all the other noble impulses of life became part of our inheritance. The glory of the sunset, the majesty of mountains soaring heavenward, the meadows smiling under the canvas of flower and fruit and shrub—everything that lends a charm to our sojourn here below was unfolded to our gaze. From the gloom and silence of nothing we were ushered into being. With creation came the possibility of every happiness, the beginning of everything that makes life worth while.

With life came the chance to work out the destiny that God had marked out for us. A few years here of fidelity to His law and we pass on to another existence that will never end, where He is to be "Our reward exceeding great." "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of a man what things God hath prepared for them that love Him" (Isa. lxiv, 4).

Moreover, God's interest in us did not cease when He brought us forth out of nothing. Having created us He does not leave us to ourselves. Every moment His sustaining hand supports and strengthens us. Were He to withdraw it for an instant we should lapse into nothing. It is literally true for us to say with the Apostle: "In Him we live and move and are."

So accustomed are we to life and its benefits that we may not advert to the fact that they depend entirely on God's bounty for their continuance and preservation. We are not like a machine that once started needs no further care and attention. We are only items in a list of creatures who must be looked after and watched over from the moment they enter into the world until the hour when their course is run.

We need air and food. We need protection from

the winter's cold and the summer's heat. We need friends and companions to share our joys and sorrows. We need help against the forces of nature that could so easily crush us in their might. In numberless ways we need care and attention every moment of our existence.

Now, as Holy Scripture tells us, God "reacheth from end to end mightily and ordereth all things sweetly." Thus it is that the sunshine follows the rain, the winter fades into spring, after the seed-time comes the harvest. The fishes of the sea and the fowls of the air and the beasts of the whole earth in their way minister to our wants. God's eyes are always on us. His goodness is always active on our behalf. "Who covereth the earth with clouds and prepareth rain for the earth; who maketh grass to grow on the mountains and herbs for the service of men. Who giveth to beasts their foods; and to young ravens that call upon Him" (Ps., cxlvi, 8-9); "But if Thou turnest away Thy face, they shall be troubled: Thou shalt take away their breath, and they shall fail and shall return to their dust" (Ps., ciii, 28-29).

Thus God's claim on our love and service cannot be denied. To them He has an absolute and unqualified right. Because He made us, we are His property. We belong entirely to Him. He owns us. Of the faculties of our soul and body He may dispose as freely as the sculptor may dispose of the statue which he has wrought out of the shapeless mass of marble. He is our Lord and Master. We are His subjects.

Therefore, our chief concern should be to know what He wants of us. Our first obligation is to strive to measure up to His teachings and His commandments.

This has always been the position of the Catholic Church. With her God has always been the "Alpha and Omega." She has always been zealous for His law and has never departed from the way of His commandments. The secret of the opposition to her in every age centers around the charge that she has too much to say about God. In all her pronouncements she has made it clear that she spoke in God's name. "Thus saith the Lord." On the rack, in times of danger and persecution she has never wavered in her loyalty to "Christ and Him Crucified." She has never yielded to popular clamor nor made concessions to fear or expediency. Because she would insist on teaching in the name of Jesus she has lost her hold on entire nations. Because she would not come down from the Cross she has been laughed at and spat upon and scorned. To those who threatened her she answered in the words of Peter and John: "If it be just in the sight of God, to hear you rather than God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things we have seen and heard" (Acts iv, 19-20).

From the days of the Apostles down to our own time she has rejoiced in the opprobrium heaped upon

her because she would not change the burden of her message, because she would not lend her aid to keep God in the background. "And calling in the Apostles after they had scourged them they charged them that they should 'not speak at all in the name of Jesus' and they dismissed them. And they indeed went forth from the presence of the Council, rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus. And every day they ceased not in the Temple and from house to house to preach Christ Jesus."

At the same time it can never be said that the Church has been wanting in sympathy and compassion for suffering humanity. Of all the institutions that ever flourished among men she alone deserves the title of the Good Samaritan. Throughout the centuries she has been following in the footsteps of the Divine Master and has been busy "healing all manner of diseases." No appeal for relief has ever been made to her in vain. There is no nation, no tribe, or people which has not felt the touch of her benign hand and the influence of her all-embracing benevolence. She has cast her shadow on poverty, sickness, vice and all manner of human misery and has left an odor of sweetness where that shadow fell. While it is true that she has sought first "The Kingdom of God and His Justice" yet she has never lessened her solicitude for those who are stamped with His image and likeness. The burden of her message has been: "God, God, God," but she has always remembered that He has said: "Amen, I say to you so long as you did it to one of these my least brethren you did it to Me" (Matt. xxv, 40). "For I was hungry and you gave me to eat: I was thirsty and you gave me to drink: I was a stranger and you took me in; naked and you clothed me; sick and you visited me: I was in prison and you came to me" (Matt. xxv, 35-46).

In our day countless numbers of her sons and daughters have renounced the joys of home and family and have given themselves to the work of relieving suffering and distress. Many of them have left their own country and their father's house to minister to strangers in a foreign land. On the field of battle, in surroundings reeking with filth and pestilence wherever humanity lies weak and wounded men and women under the direction of the Church are sacrificing themselves in the effort to bring health and comfort. In our hospitals the soft hands of devoted religious are gathering up the moisture of pain on the fevered brow, and her gentle voice is soothing the delirium that sickness conjures up. In the homes of the aged poor, women of rank and nobility are looking after the work of the shattered fragments of mind and body, and bearing patiently with the idiosyncracies of senile decay. In the houses of the Good Shepherd, virgins are folding to their bosoms the fallen flowers of a hectic springtime and infusing into them the warmth of

mercy and compassion. In our asylums, homeless children are being cared for with the utmost tenderness and made to forget the misfortunes that brought them there. A Father Damien challenges the admiration of the world, by the heroism of his life among the lepers. A Father Judge wins golden opinions for what he does for the child-like miners of the frozen North.

Thus the Church has always been the greatest factor for social service which the world has ever known. The implications from her teachings have renewed the face of the earth. She has underlaid the dignity and rights of the individual, and governments have learned from her the principles that made for their stability and well-being.

Today, in a world beset on all sides by turmoil and distress, the Church stands like a beacon directing and encouraging the minds and hearts of those who are concerned with the welfare of our civilization. From his coign of vantage in the Vatican City, Pius XI is sounding the call to better things and pointing out the way to peace and security.

My dear friends, gathered together here at the call of your zealous and kindly Archbishop to concentrate for a few days on the need of Catholic Action you deserve the encomium which St. Peter pronounced on the Christians of his day: "You are a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people: that you may declare His virtues, Who hath called you out of darkness into His marvelous light."

While here you will study the problems in our social system that are calling for solution and you will call to mind the remedies that are at hand in the teaching and philosophy of your Catholic heritage. You will remember that where there is question of moral issues and social rehabilitation, the Church, like the Divine Master, has the secret of eternal life, and that the challenge of the hour can only be met by men and women with the spirit of Christ. Once more he must rise up and command the winds and the waves.

The present national political campaign has, in particular, brought one vitally important question to the fore for our consideration. It is the question of whether the liberty we have been accustomed to enjoy under the American Constitution—not merely political liberty but economic liberty as well—is being curtailed by the various agencies and bureaus set up by the Government in its attempt to regain a measure of prosperity for the country. Orators and editors, representatives of the capitalistic class as well as representatives of labor and agriculture, consume huge quantities of ink and breath in assailing one another over the threat allegedly hovering over our constitutional rights and liberties. On the other hand, hardly a word do we hear about justice, whether it be ideal justice or social justice. Now, we are well aware of the fact that there can be no

real liberty if there is no justice, nor can there be justice if there is no liberty. As Catholic students of social and economic problems, we are interested in both. And with the matter of the Constitution and the liberties guaranteed us thereunder, the Catholic Church has a much closer relationship than any other living institution.

What is this topic of contention—liberty? The great Lord Acton has given its best definition: "The assurance that every man shall be protected in doing that which he believes his duty against the influence of authority and majorities, customs and opinions." And we might say further that individual liberty under modern constitutional governments in general, involves freedom of the person in going and coming, equality before the courts, security of private property, freedom of opinion and its expression, and freedom of conscience. This agrees entirely with the Christian conception of liberty, and this latter conception of liberty we get from that charter of Christian Liberty in our Blessed Lord's words to the Jews: "Then said Jesus to those Jews who believed in Him: 'If you continue in My word, you shall be My disciples indeed. And you shall know the truth and the truth shall set you free.' They answered Him: 'We are the seed of Abraham; and we have never been slaves to any man. How sayest Thou: "You shall be free?"' Jesus answered them: 'Amen, amen, I say unto you that whosoever commiteth sin is the servant of sin. Now the servant abideth not in the house forever; but the son abideth forever. If therefore, the Son shall make you free, you shall be free indeed!'" The Incarnate Word promises freedom to all who accept the truth of the Gospels, and defines freedom as obedience to the laws of God.

I just said that with the matter of the Constitution and the liberties granted to us thereunder that the Catholic Church has a much closer relationship than any other living institution. The first constitutions and charters written out in the early Middle Ages were created in the encouraging atmosphere of Catholicism. The free Italian cities, the early cities of Spain coming out from under Moorish domination, the German cities along the Rhine and the Dutch and the Flemish cities, possessed charters of liberty, all inspired by Christian ideals, and in these charters were contained the fundamentals of our modern constitutions. When after the Protestant revolt of the sixteenth century, the Divine Right of Kings became the popular theory and threatened the liberties of parliaments and peoples, it was the Catholic Church which opposed this dangerous theory and upheld the liberties of the masses. Those great theological lights of the Church, Suarez, Bellarmine and Parsons, upheld the rights of democracies against the claims of the kings; these Catholic authorities were followed by John Locke, the distinguished English political writer, and he in turn

was summarized and copied by Thomas Jefferson in the immortal Declaration of Independence. That great American document, the Declaration of Independence, contains the purest Catholic doctrine drawn from the foremost Catholic scholars, and our present Constitution of the United States in as far as it drew its ideals and inspirations from the Declaration of Independence and the writings of Jefferson and Locke, embodies the age old Catholic doctrine on the liberties and rights of the peoples. That is why I say that the Catholic Church has more direct connection with the Constitution and the liberties guaranteed thereunder than any other living institution.

But just as the Catholic Church was ever the champion of liberty, she was equally the perennial and perpetual champion of social justice. Throughout the early centuries, she taught that eternal principle that to every one should be rendered his due or right. In the Middle Ages, it was Catholic theology which held the Merchant Guilds and the still more successful Craft Guilds ever firmly attached to the principles of justice. It was her Christian doctrine which forbade monopolies and cornering of the market, which enforced clean and honorable rules of competition, which denounced as a crime the taking of usury by the wealthy from those to whom they had lent gold for the necessities of life; and it was her doctrines which in the interest of social justice defended the consumers by insisting on the principle of the "justum pretium," the just price for commodities throughout Christendom. Coming down into modern times, the voice of the Church has been the only voice crying out in the wilderness of the new industrialism in stentorian tones for social justice without which there can be no true liberty. Almost a half century ago, Pope Leo announced to the world: "All agree, and there can be no question whatever, that some remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor. The ancient Workmen's Guilds were destroyed in the last century and no other organization took their place. Public institutions and the laws have repudiated the ancient religion. Hence by degrees it has come to pass that Working Men have been given over, isolated and defenceless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. The evil has been increased by rapacious Usury, which, although more than once condemned by the Church is nevertheless under a different form but with the same guilt, still practiced by avaricious and grasping men. And to this must be added the custom of working by contract, and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself." And this

protest against the abuse of justice is vigorously reëchoed by our present Pontiff, Pius XI, when he states: "The immense number of propertyless wage-earners on the one hand, and the superabundant riches of the fortunate few on the other, is an unanswerable argument that the earthly goods so abundantly produced in this age of industrialism are far from rightly distributed and equitably shared among the various classes of men. . . . It is patent that in our days not alone is wealth accumulated, but immense power and despotic economic domination is concentrated in the hands of a few, and that those few are frequently not the owners, but only the trustees and directors of invested funds, who administer them at their good pleasure."

"This power becomes particularly irresistible when exercised by those who, because they hold and control money, are also able to govern credit and determine its allotment, for that reason supplying, so to speak, the life-blood of the entire economic body, and grasping as it were in their hands the very soul of production, so that no one dare breathe against their will. This accumulation of power, the characteristic note of the modern economic order, is a natural result of limitless free competition which permits the survival of those only who are the strongest, which often means those who fight most relentlessly, who pay least heed to the dictates of conscience."

Since the Church therefore has been the pillar of defense for liberty long before constitutions were written, as well as today under constitutional forms of government, and has likewise always been the foremost advocate for social justice among men, she takes the most profound interest in the interpretations of these principles of liberty and justice in our present changing social order. Is there a clash today between the claims of liberty and the claims of social justice? There are many today, and among them some men of wisdom and experience, who profess to see in the changes attempted by the Government in the last eighteen months in the monetary and industrial and agricultural fields, a profound menace to the liberties guaranteed to us by our Constitution. Although these changes are attempted in the spirit of social justice, for the purpose of bringing about a better distribution of wealth and eradicating as far as possible the evils of poverty, these opponents claim that the price we are paying is too great for the good we are receiving, since we are in danger of slipping from our status of freedom into a government of tyranny and regimentation. The immense powers, even though they are but temporary and for an emergency, given to our chief executive by our Congress for bringing about an amelioration of social and economic conditions, are regarded in some quarters with the sharpest trepidation and alarm. In all the recent enactments, from the devaluation of the gold dollar down to the

codes to regulate business competition and to the curtailment of acreage to get rid of back-breaking agricultural surpluses they pretend to see an interference with the liberties granted to individuals under our Constitution. But a few weeks ago in an address at the Century of Progress in Chicago, former Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, while admitting the minimum wage laws set up by the Government under NRA codes were to some degree beneficial, professed to see even in that a great danger to freedom; for, he asked, if a government can set up minimum wage laws, cannot that government then by the same token some day set up maximum wage laws, prohibiting the working class from securing the high wages to which it believes itself entitled? The obvious answer, that the Government, in order to protect the public from unjust exploitation whether by monopolies of labor or of commodities, has in the past and may again in the future put a limit on wages and prices in the interest of justice, never struck the senatorial brain. Such arguments merely demonstrate the delicious asininity which lies behind some of the opposition to our progressive social legislation today. Most of the arguments for and against the supposed abridgements of constitutional liberties rest upon widely divergent interpretations of the Constitution by different individuals and authorities. There is nothing clear cut or definite about any of it, and we can safely await the final interpretations by the agency which has been set up for that purpose, the Supreme Court of the United States.

But until that time, wherever there seem today to be a clash between merely abstract liberties and concrete cases of social justice, our only choice must be to follow justice. Why argue about abstract and, as yet, theoretical constitutional liberties, when we are standing face to face with millions of men who want jobs and bread? The constant accusation of government regimentation of industry and government interference with private business is a coldly uninteresting item of constitutionality to men who cannot be sure of their breakfast tomorrow morning and are merely looking for justice. Under the plea of liberty, many would go back to the old, unregulated *laissez faire* system of individualism. But knowing that this has subverted justice, the Catholic Church has placed itself in opposition to it, and has demanded that the State interfere, if one may use that term, in behalf of the weaker but numerically larger elements of society. The Popes have proclaimed the doctrine that "the civil power is more

than the mere guardian of law and order, and that it must strive with all zeal to make sure that the laws and institutions should be such as of themselves to realize public well-being and private property. "It is true indeed," continue the Pontiffs, "that a just freedom of action should be left to individual citizens and families; *but this principle is only valid as long as the common good is secure and no injustice is entailed.* The duty of rulers is to protect the community and its various elements; in protecting the rights of individuals they must have special regard for the infirm and needy. For the richer class have many ways of shielding themselves and stand less in need of help from the State, whereas the mass of the poor have no resources of their own to fall back upon and *must chiefly depend upon the assistance of the State.*" And the import of these words applies with striking force to today's existing emergency.

There is no clash of liberty and social justice, but merely a clash of interpretations. And this clash may quickly be summarized in the recent words of two of our leading statesmen, ex-President Hoover and President Franklin Roosevelt. Says the former Chief Executive in his new book, "The Challenge to Liberty": "For the first time in two generations the American people are faced with the primary issue of humanity and all government—the issue of human liberty . . . We have to determine now whether, under the pressure of the hour, we must cripple or abandon the heritage of liberty for some new philosophy which must mark the passage of freedom." And possibly in answer, said the present Chief Executive in his radio talk of fourteen days ago: "I am not for a return to that definition of liberty under which for many years a free people were being regimented into the service of the privileged few. I prefer and I am sure you prefer that broader definition of liberty under which we are moving forward to greater freedom, to greater security for the average man than he has ever known before in the history of America."

In conclusion, it may be said therefore, in my humble opinion, that the Church, the great guardian of human liberties, sees nothing in the recent enactments over which to be alarmed. In fact, despite the possibility of future abuses—a possibility that will always confront us—she can safely place her stamp of approval in the interest of social justice upon the broad and humane philosophy that underlies the national legislation of the changing social order of America today.

Anti-Communist But Not Pro-Capitalist

By REV. JAMES M. GILLIS, C.S.P.

Editor, THE CATHOLIC WORLD

DISTRUST of the old-line capitalism, dissatisfaction with the economic status quo are almost as rife in England as here. Even in Catholic circles over there, some pretty advanced statements are made. It may be interesting to give examples. So I have assembled some quotations from a perfectly orthodox and representative Catholic magazine, *Blackfriars*, edited by the English Dominicans. From time to time they devote an entire number to the economic problem. I select the following statements from different articles by various writers in the issues for February and September of this year:

"In some quarters the Catholic argument against Communism still largely consists in evoking pictures of mongoloid Muscovites with blood-imbrued hands. We are not fighting a bogey, but an idea, and an idea that is so strong because part of it is so true."

"Man's right to private property is not unrestricted. His private administration may justly be modified by the action of the State, and his profits belong to those that need them. *Quadragesimo Anno* condemns Individualism along with Collectivism. The trespassers-will-be-prosecuted notion of private property is not the Catholic one, which holds a balance between the principles of private initiative and common enjoyment."

"That Capitalism has resulted in the deprivation of the mass of the people of property in land and industrial capital is a moral and social calamity, and may be fatal to the system; but it is not inherent in it."

"We must discrown all systems of social monism, which, because they are imperialist, must lead to tyranny. Christianity is essentially a personal system. And we cannot believe that an individualistic capitalism is any more favorable to personality than is communism, whose anti-personalism, we might almost say, is borrowed from it."

"Communism inevitably follows Capitalism; not because Capitalism is a bad thing leading inevitably to a worse, but because Capitalism is a certain kind of thing leading inevitably to its fulfilment."

"More than anything else, that state of affairs is hateful in which it rests with private individuals to determine whether millions shall work or starve."

"It must not be thought, because the Christian Church condemns Marxist Communism that she thereby identifies herself with those who attack it because it seeks to uproot the 'existing order.' The

Christian's case against Communism is not that it is revolutionary but that it is counter-revolutionary. Christianity will not oppose Marxism by joining forces with liberalism, individualist-capitalism, bourgeoisism and such like representatives of the 'existing order' which it finds hardly less abhorrent.

"Subsequent social philosophies, even the most expressly anti-Christian, have been impregnated with many of its ideals—Bolshevism itself is in many respects a 'Christian heresy.'"

". . . the transformation which Christianity effected in civil society; a transformation so profoundly revolutionary that the ephemeral upheavals which we dignify nowadays with the name of revolutions pale by comparison."

"There can, on the one hand, be no reconciliation between the Catholic Church and Communist collectivism. On the other hand, there can be nothing but contradiction between Catholicism and the liberalist philosophy which makes an absolute of the individual."

"If we have spoken of the Christian Revolution as an event of past history and one which profoundly changed the face of civil society, that is not because we can look back upon it with complacency as a fully accomplished fact. Its achievements, great as they are, are indeed infinitesimal when compared with its dynamic potentialities, its resources and its ideals. . . . Before we speak too harshly of the Communists, it is well to remember that it is the apathy and infidelity of Christians to their social mission which had made Communism possible and plausible."

"The children of Light have tarried with the children of Mammon and played with the centuries, but the time has come when we must choose our ways."

"In an audience given to Canon Cardyn, Pius XI referred to the fact that the Church had lost touch with the greater part of the working classes as the greatest scandal of the nineteenth century. Professor Dr. J. P. Steffes, in a work entitled 'Religion and Religiosity the Great Problem of the Capitalist Age,' demonstrates the intimate connection between the spirit and the consequences of capitalism on the one hand and the religious and spiritual crisis on the other."

I think that will suffice as a partial demonstration that we American Catholics who look for substantial changes in the economic system that has so dominated the world since the rise of industrialism, are not "flying off the handle."

Economic Principles and Social Practice

By REVEREND LEWIS WATT, S.J., B.Sc. (ECON.)
From Catholic Truth Society, London

Certain economic principles, maintained as true by those who held them, have been refuted by the inexorable logic of facts; the principles of Catholic social reformers are being forced upon the acceptance of people by the course of events. A well known economic writer demonstrates this fact in his paper reprinted from the CLERGY REVIEW, July, 1931.

IT is hardly necessary to recall that in the second half of the eighteenth century there began that change in economic and industrial methods which has been called "The Industrial Revolution." It began in England and spread to other countries only after a considerable lapse of time. Inventions of various kinds vastly increased the productive powers of England, and the Factory System sprang up to exploit them to the utmost. Unfortunately it was not merely the inventions that were exploited, but the inventors too, and the workers who had to make use of the inventions in the factories of the capitalists. The story of the employment of women and young children in the coal-mines and the factories, the tragedy of their long agony, is a familiar one, though its familiarity does not deaden the feeling of horror with which every decent person must regard it. As one reads it, one is driven to ask, how did the governing class in England tolerate it so long as it did? How did our rulers soothe their consciences? The answer is, by the principles of what was then called the New Political Economy.

This New Political Economy was the system which we now associate with the names of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Malthus and others of what is sometimes known as the Classical School of Economics. On the Continent, it is usually called the Liberal School, from the fact that its main insistence was on liberty. This school may be said to have begun with the Physiocrats, a name taken from the title of a collection of the writings of the French doctor, Quesnay, which was published in 1765 by Dupont de Nemours and called *Physiocratie*. Quesney had a large number of followers in France, and considerable influence on Adam Smith, who has been called the father of political economy in Great Britain. The Physiocrats were the children of their time and its philosophy. Disciples of the skeptic Voltaire and the visionary Rousseau, they accepted the dangerous principle that man, being essentially good, has only to follow the tendencies of his nature to arrive at happiness, and happiness on their lips meant the

pleasures of this life and the satisfaction of the senses. If his bodily needs are gratified, he will be happy, and the function of economic life is to satisfy those needs to the utmost. Consequently they stressed the necessity of production of the greatest possible amount of material goods. The first thing required to secure this maximum of production was that the State should keep its hands off industry, and this they expressed in the well-known phrase, *Laissez-faire*. The State, they held, should confine itself to protecting the freedom of its citizens to make what contracts they pleased. The motive of self-interest, being left free play, would in their opinion secure the maximum welfare of society.

Thus were laid the foundations of that system of "natural liberty" which, defended by eminent economists in Great Britain after Adam Smith had lent it the weight of his authority in *The Wealth of Nations*, was eagerly adopted by the governing class and the employers with disastrous consequences to the workers and the poor. Adam Smith was more humane than his successors, and it may be true that his successors were more humane than the practical men of affairs who learned from them; but the net result to Great Britain was that wealth in the narrowest sense increased while the welfare of a large section of the population rapidly diminished.

Though there is no economist today who would be prepared to defend the system of natural liberty, there are many people who consciously or unconsciously believe in it. It is therefore worth while considering its main principles, as generally accepted in its heyday. It maintained that the production of material goods should be relentlessly developed, and that this production is best secured when men are left to the free play of the motive of self-interest, each seeking his own individual good in the way that seems best to him. All laws and regulations tending to interfere with men's industrial and commercial freedom can do nothing but harm, and should be repealed as soon as possible. The world of industry and commerce would then be left

to the free play of natural economic laws, and these would secure that the best results were obtained. Free competition between employers for markets would result in the survival of the fittest and in the lowest possible price being charged to the consumers. Free competition between workers for employment would result in stimulating their industry and hence their output, with the result of increasing the national wealth.

One could find a good deal to criticize in this theory, even apart from its practical results. Its assumption that natural economic laws will secure that the general welfare is best obtained when everyone seeks his own self-interest; its idea that those employers who survive competition are not merely the fittest to compete but the fittest from the point of view of national production; its omission to take into account the distribution of the wealth produced; all these and other points have been often discussed and their fallacy revealed.

But we are more concerned to consider the effect of these economic principles on the practice of the times. We need not pause to speculate about what effect they would have had if all the faint qualifications of Smith, Ricardo and Malthus had been as eagerly adopted by the governing class as was the general idea of their system, for in point of fact they were left out of account. The lesson which the economists were thought to have taught was that the industrialists must be given a free hand to do their best for themselves, and that any interference by the State would be harmful to national prosperity and useless to protect the workers. When at the end of the eighteenth century Pitt was asked to enforce the old statutes providing for the regulation of wages, he replied that "trade, industry and barter would always find their own level, and be impeded by regulations which violated their natural operation and deranged their proper effect." Even Burke, in 1795, argued that the farmer, in his own interest, would see that "the laborer is well fed, and otherwise found with such necessities of animal life as may keep the body in full force and the mind gay and cheerful." The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (the chairman was Brougham) urged the workers in 1831 "when there is too much labor in the market and wages are too low, do not combine to raise wages; but go out of the market. Leave the relations between wages and labor to equalize themselves. You can never be permanently kept down in wages by the profits of capital; for if the profits of capital are too high, the competition of other capital immediately comes in to set the matter right." When attempts were made, early in the nineteenth century, to pass legislation to forbid the use of children as chimney-sweeps, the House of Lords rejected it, and Lord Lauderdale argued that the matter should be left entirely "to the moral feelings of perhaps the most moral people on the face

of the earth"; and when a new Bill was introduced to forbid the use of boys under ten or of girls, he said: "If the legislature attempted to lay down a moral code for the people, there was always a danger that every feeling of benevolence would be extirpated," and the Bill was rejected by the House of Lords.

Very soon the idea that interference with conditions of labor, especially wages, could not take place without doing as much injury to the workers as to industry at large hardened, under the influence of the Wage Fund theory, and the teachings of Malthus, into the belief that poverty and misery are inevitable, and that it is quite impossible to raise the general level of wages. To quote a writer who cannot be suspected of any desire to blacken the reputation of capitalism:

People were up against the so-called law of the wages-fund which seemed to say that capital at any time was fixed in amount, that labor's share of that capital was automatically fixed, and that any gain by one class must be at the expense of another class. It would therefore be clearly unfair for the government to help one class of workers at the expense of another. Moreover, people believed that there was a law of population, the discovery of which was ascribed to Malthus, by which any rise in the standard of comfort would result in earlier marriages and in more children being born. These, it was held, would compete in their turn for work, wages would fall, and the result would be an intolerable struggle for employment. (Knowles, *Industrial and Commercial Revolutions*.)

Fortunately for Great Britain, there were humanitarians who were not prepared to bow their knee before the New Political Economy, and who, acting on different principles, succeeded in passing legislation to protect the workers, though only after long and bitter struggles and in the teeth of prophecies of disaster from the economists. This is not the place to relate the history of the condition of the workers in the nineteenth century, or of the gradual progress of reform by legislation. That has been done over and over again, and can be found in any economic history of the period. Long hours of labor in factories and mines for men, women and children, at grossly insufficient wages and under conditions fatal alike to body and to spiritual health; the peasantry turned into an urban proletariat and the yeomanry destroyed; the population concentrating in towns which sprang up to house the factory-hands without any regulation by the Government or local authorities, and in which typhus and small-pox were chronic and cholera frequently broke out; graveyards so overcrowded that the dead poisoned the living; no system of sanitation, no water-supply laid on to houses; such were some of the results of the principles of *laissez-faire* when adopted in practice, and they were of themselves sufficient to refute those principles. But it was a refutation which cost a terrible price in terms of human degradation,

suffering, misery, disease, death and sin. Who that considers the story of economic theory and industrial and political practice in Great Britain last century would venture to say that principles are of no importance in practice?

After brooding over the reports of the Royal Commissions which have recorded the history of early nineteenth century England for future generations to wonder at, Karl Marx, already a revolutionary and a Communist, put forward in 1867 an interpretation of economic life and the laws that were supposed to rule it which, though superficially the very opposite of that put forward by the classical economists, was yet curiously like it in its fundamental assumptions. Marx was not a social reformer, and his followers scorn the term. To call an opponent a "reformist" is for them a term of abuse. They are root-and-branch revolutionaries. In any State based on capitalism, they hold, the worker is necessarily exploited. His employer lives on the profit made by extracting surplus-value from the working-class. In pure Marxist theory, this is not a sign of any particular depravity on the part of the employing class, the capitalists. It is a necessary and inevitable result of capitalism. All history, including, of course, economic history, is governed by natural laws which determine the course of human actions and institutions as absolutely as the laws which regulate the course of the planets or the seasons. They are not the work of an omnipotent Creator, for Marxism is atheistic; nevertheless, these laws are working for a better state of things. By a necessary evolution, the class-State (dominated by the bourgeois, as Marx holds) and the capitalist system, in which he maintains the bourgeois exploits the proletariat, will pass away, and Communism will reign in their stead, when there will be no private property and no government. Evolution is perhaps not quite the correct word, for it seems to imply a peaceful course of events, whereas progress for Marx takes place through a struggle between classes, between the exploited and the exploiters. "All history," he says, "is a record of class struggles." The outstanding event of this struggle to which he looks forward is the seizing of political power by the proletariat, who will set up a Dictatorship of the Proletariat and nationalize the land and other means of production, banking and transport, and establish "industrial armies, especially for agriculture." The result of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat will be the destruction of all class-distinctions, and then (to use Lenin's phrase) the State will "wither away" and the final stage of Communism will be achieved when material goods are produced in such abundance that everyone will be able to draw from national warehouses whatever he requires, irrespective of the amount of work he has performed, and everyone will be happy.

It is not my purpose to examine Marxist Socialism

at any length here, but rather to see how it influences practice. Nevertheless, it is worth while pointing out that one of the most accredited spokesmen of the system frankly admits that the Communist millennium may be nothing more than a myth. After telling us that the State will wither away when people voluntarily work to the best of their ability without a view to reward and their labor is so productive that every citizen can take what he needs from the common stock, Lenin writes: "It has never entered the head of any Socialist to promise that the highest phase of Communism will actually arrive," though "the great Socialists" anticipate that it will. Until it does arrive, he tells us, the Socialists demand the strictest control by society and by the State of the quantity of labor and the quantity of consumption. (Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.)

The classical economists were not anti-religious in their writings. Rather they were unreligious. They left religion and the spiritual side of life out of account concentrating their attention on a fictitious "economic man," moved only by the motive of economic self-interest. The psychological mistake of this view has often been pointed out, but sufficient insistence has not been laid on the fact that the Physiocrats, the first defenders of *laissez-faire*, adopted the skeptical attitude of Voltaire towards religion, and that the materialistic trend of their system is to be accounted for in great measure by the materialism of their philosophy. On this point Marx and Marxism are in full agreement with them. In an oft-quoted phrase, Marx wrote, "Religion is the opium of the people," and the official handbook to Communism tells us that

it is the task of the Communist party to make this truth comprehensible to the widest possible circle of the laboring masses. . . . Religion and Communism are incompatible, both theoretically and practically. . . . One who, while calling himself a Communist, continues to cling to his religious faith . . . ceases thereby to be a Communist. (*The A. B. C. of Communism*, published by the British Communist Party.)

The materialistic outlook on life implicit in the theories of the classical economists is explicit in Marxism. But the resemblance between the political economy which was used to justify the abuses of early capitalism and that which is behind the revolutionary Socialist movement is even more striking when we consider the ideas of *laissez-faire*, individualism and those of Marxist Socialism about "economic laws." The great century of natural science was justified in its children. As we have seen, the Physiocrats and the classical economists maintained that to attempt to interfere with the natural laws which govern men in their economic relations was positively harmful. Leave natural laws to operate in their own way, and they would lead mankind to prosperity. Marx had an equally strong faith in nat-

ural laws, and his philosophy of social progress (the Materialist Conception of History) is based on the opinion that society evolves according to laws which no man can change. A modern Bolshevik who has written an entire book on *Historical Materialism*, Bukharin, writes: "Society and its evolution are as much subject to natural law as is everything else in the universe"; and quite consistently with this opinion he maintains that the human will is not free. The line of this necessary evolution from the eighteenth century onwards is, according to Marx, from capitalism through Socialism to complete Communism, and the driving force behind the evolution is the class-struggle. Both in their materialistic outlook and in their faith in "economic laws" Marx and the classical economists are not far apart as one might have expected from the fact that he is a Socialist and that they are individualists. Nor do they differ very much in their attitude to the mass of the workers, in spite of the Marxist programme of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The ideal of the economists was really a well-disciplined hard-working body of people, at the orders of their capitalist employers, asking for no voice in the control of production and its conditions or in the government of the country. The ideal of Marxism is similarly a well-disciplined hard-working body of people, at the orders of the politbureau, content to leave the administration of industry and politics to the leaders of the Comintern.

Let us now see how the principles of Marxism have affected social and economic practice. It was, in the first place, the revolutionary principles laid down by Marx and developed by Lenin which enabled the Bolsheviks to establish themselves on the ruins of nascent democracy in Russia, after the downfall of Tsardom. It is that affective application of principles to practice that has given them the power to continue to apply their principles to that unhappy country. It is unnecessary for me to detail their campaign against God and religion, but that campaign is a logical application of the principle that "religion is the opium of the people"; or to describe the pitiful condition of the outcast Russian children: a logical outcome of the Marxist hatred of the family. Applying the doctrine of the class-war, they have done their best to stamp out the middle class as well as the rich. Even the peasant with a tiny stock of two or three head of cattle has been persecuted. Class hatred has been fostered in other countries so far as Bolshevik funds permitted. The conscription of labor in the timber and grain industries has been unhesitatingly enforced by the Government, and quite recently (October, 1930) instructions have been issued to the labor exchanges "to take all necessary measures in order that the unemployed be immediately sent to work, and of these the first to be sent are persons entitled to draw unemployment benefit." Private trading, which Lenin

permitted by his New Economic Policy, is once again being attacked under the more intransigent Stalin. Who can deny that the stern principles of Marx are being applied as thoroughly as possible? One might expect to see some signs, if Marx were right, that the welfare of the Russian people is advancing, that they are heartily cooperating with their Communist saviors; but on the contrary one finds in official documents of the U.S.S.R. continual complaints against the workers, against those in charge of State enterprises, against State departments, and even against some of the leaders of the Communist Party in Russia.

On the last point, no more need be said than to recall how often we read that such-and-such a leader has fallen into some sort of economic heresy, that he has been expelled from the Party, that he has recanted, that he has relapsed, and so on. What the meaning of all these maneuvers may be it is hard to say, but it is plain that even at the seat of government all are not a happy band of brothers. The People's Commissariat of Labor, we were told by the Russian Government last October, together with its local organizations, "has taken up a purely bureaucratic stand on economic questions," and "have been slack in their work, and individual directors have glossed over the existing defects of the organization." Official complaints are made that there has been a falling-off in the quality of goods produced by the State industries, and that this does great harm to the workers and peasants as consumers. Further complaints are made against workers who are malingerers, to whom the careless Commissariat of Labor has paid out tens of millions of roubles. (See the Blue Book, "Russia No. 1 (1931)," Cmd. 3775.)

Now does not this show that the principles of Marxism are unsound? Destroy class-distinctions by destroying private property; to effect this set up, by revolution, a Dictatorship of the Proletariat; gradually the State will wither away as the necessity for its control ceases, on the supposition that all will labor to the best of their ability. Set the mind of man free from the bonds of belief in God and of hope of a hereafter; take away his opium from him, and he will come to new and vigorous life, centering his attention and his desires on this world and its satisfactions. Such, in summary, was the advice of Marx, based on his principles of atheism and materialism. And everything we can learn about Russia shows that under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat the mass of men remains at least as selfish and lazy as under capitalism; and that the position of the worker in Russia is at the very least no better than in countries which have refused to accept the Marxist creed. It is perhaps worth noticing that Centrosoyus (the Russian cooperative association) has lately been complaining that it is impossible to send by ordinary train certain goods of which there

is a scarcity, because the entire consignment disappeared; it is quite usual for 70 per cent of other goods to be missing. Evidently there are some in Russia who are under the impression that the second or perfect phase of Communism has arrived, and who are already putting into practice the principle, "To each according to his needs."

We have considered, then, two opposed sets of principles, those of the individualist economists of last century and those of the revolutionary Socialist Marx, and we have seen that they have had a powerful effect on practice, by no means to the advantage of the workers. I purposely refrain from discussing the effects of the partial applications of Marxism on the Continent after the War. Dr. Shadwell has done this in his *The Breakdown of Socialism*, and whether one agrees or disagrees with his own economic and political views, one must admit that the facts he enumerates make it clear that Marxism is unworkable.

Rather than enter upon a discussion which might easily assume the aspect of party politics, I prefer to consider present principles and practice in Great Britain, in order to see what relation there is between them. Mr. Keynes, one of our most eminent economists, made a significant admission the other day in a lecture on the trade slump at the Royal Institution. Lately, he said, there had been a lull in the progress of economic theory, and it was now in the state when we were all confused. That certainly confirms the impression of the ordinary man who reads the conflicting statements of economists published in the newspapers. *Laissez-faire* is dethroned, and Mr. Keynes himself has sung its dirge in his book, *The End of Laissez-faire*. The trouble is that our economists do not know what to put in its place. When called in by society as expert advisers, they are of course confronted by a much more complicated case than that with which the classical economists had to deal. As a lesson in the dangers of accepting false principles, it is worth noticing how much of our social and economic difficulties today are legacies of the now discredited theories of the past. It is not easy to change a widely-held opinion, especially when that opinion is supported by experts; but it is far less easy to change the concrete conditions which have arisen out of the general adoption of that theory.

It has been made a matter of reproach to the employers in the cotton trade that they seem unable to come to any agreement among themselves which would lead to the rationalization of their industry, and it is certainly true that it has proved uncommonly difficult to persuade them to adopt a common industrial policy. The cotton employer, we are told, is essentially individualist. But in adopting this attitude he is simply following the precepts of the *laissez-faire* school. It is no mere coincidence that

this school was called the Manchester school, and that Manchester is one of the great cotton centers.

The coal trade, too, has shown the same characteristic, and an Act of Parliament has proved necessary to secure some sort of coordination in it. Once again we see the *laissez-faire* mentality persisting. Indeed we hear it vehemently expressed in demands that the Government should leave the coal trade alone, a cry that is repeated by many other employers as though non-intervention by the State with industry was a first principle which no sensible man could question. I am not concerned to discuss whether the Government's intervention has always been wise, but only to point out that the protests against it are based on the assumption that "Hands off industry" is an obvious maxim of sound political science.

When Great Britain took the plunge last century and decided to turn herself into an industrialized country, the growth of factories was accompanied, as we have seen, by a growth of nightmare towns. Those towns are still to a large extent, blots not only on the landscape but on the social conscience of the community. Had the public authorities from the first done their duty and supervised the construction of the new towns, we should not have now the anguishing problem of the slums to solve. But at the time economic principles tied their hands, and the present generation is still paying the penalty.

It is hardly too much to say that British agriculture was deliberately ruined by the economic theories of last century. . . .

The maxim, "Produce as much as ever you can," was common to economists from the days of the Physiocrats, and it was coupled with the firmly held opinion that general over-production was impossible. Underlying this was the assumption that the product would always find a sale at the market price. For the English manufacturer of the nineteenth century that was an easy assumption to make, for he had many customers demanding his goods from foreign countries. The home market did not seem to him important so long as he could export his textiles, his coal, his machinery and ships. It appeared to him that the larger the wages he paid his workers the less his profit, and he resented the action of the trade unions in struggling for an improvement in the workers' standard of life. He was too shortsighted to realize—or perhaps too indifferent to the future of his country to care, if he had realized—that the time was rapidly coming when his foreign customers would supply themselves with the goods they needed, and that by keeping down the wages of his workers he was strangling a potential market. The enormous extent to which property in Great Britain is concentrated in a few hands at the present time is largely a result of the fact that a family living wage was denied to the British workers so far as they were not powerful enough to insist upon it. Today that wealth is perforce being redistributed

through the "social services" of insurance against sickness and unemployment, of old-age pensions and the Poor Law; a method necessary to save the poor from starvation but open to a vast number of abuses to which the healthy method of paying fair wages is not open.

Finally, as a last and most serious legacy of the bad old days of *laissez-faire* there is the all-pervading hostility and distrust between employers and employed. To account for this it is necessary to remember not merely the abuses of early capitalism but also the importance laid by the system of "natural liberty" on the motive of self-interest. Give that free play, and economic law, or the Hidden Hand of Providence, would secure that the greatest happiness of the greatest number would follow; such was the theory. But men are naturally distrustful of those who are openly seeking their own interest; and without any urging on the part of economists they will do all in their power to protect themselves against those they distrust. There is a psychological factor involved which the economists overlooked as completely as they overlooked the moral factor. A purely competitive atmosphere breeds necessarily distrust and suspicion, which the opium of "economic necessity" does nothing to soothe. The seeds of the so-called general strike of 1926 were sown by the Physiocrats.

Laissez-faire began to be doubted from about the eighties of last century, and officially it is discredited today. But it lingers still in the minds of some who have not learned the lessons of the past, and we have the complacent individualist still with us. Nevertheless the logic of events has forced another policy on the country as a whole, a policy which on many points confirms the soundness of Catholic social doctrine in its unceasing protest against the system of "natural liberty." The danger today is that for want of any clear principles the pendulum may swing too far, that in reaction from the mistakes of the past we may fall into new errors.

The economic and political situation today is very different from that of the early nineteenth century. The need for a revival of British agriculture is widely recognized, and the Government of the moment is at present pressing forward two important Agricultural Bills, on the merits of which opinion is sharply divided. An equally urgent need is that of more and better housing for the workers, and the State has interfered with varying success in order to supply the need. Out of the earlier inefficient Factory Acts there has grown up a great system of governmental regulation of the conditions in mines and factories. The national scandal of sweating, which resulted necessarily from the policy of leaving "economic laws" to regulate wages, has been countered by the Trade Boards Acts. Attempts have been made to fix a maximum wage in agriculture, though any attempt to discuss the possibility of a living

wage in industry as a whole is still attacked as a Socialistic proposal. Competition between those who have money to lend and those who wish to borrow it has been curtailed by Moneylenders Acts; and the gross inequalities of fortune which the industrial and agricultural revolutions of last century produced are being attacked by various "social insurances." No longer are trade unions forbidden by law, as they used to be; and though the repeal of the Combination Acts may no doubt be attributed to the *laissez-faire* spirit, it is to be remembered that Francis Place himself, the protagonist of repeal, was no believer in trade unions. He thought that with the repeal of the Combination Acts they would die out. What powers are to be conceded to trade unions is a question which has occupied the attention of Parliament, and will, it is to be feared, be eventually settled by considerations of party interests rather than of principle. But that trade unions have an important function to fulfil in the social system is generally admitted, and has been explicitly recognized by the National Health Insurance Acts, by the Whitley scheme for joint industrial councils, and by the conferences between representatives of employers' federations and of the Trades Union Congress, originated by the late Lord Melchett.

The extension of State action on the one hand, and the development of organizations of employers and employed on the other, are a proof that *laissez-faire* has proved unworkable, just as the Russian experiment has shown that Marxism is fundamentally false. Catholic social philosophy rejects both individualism and Socialism, and our experience goes to show that it is based on true principles. It now remains to consider briefly what those principles are.

We may say that Catholic social principles are simply the principles of Christian morality applied to the relations between men when they deal with one another as fellow-citizens or as employer and employed. Consequently the most fundamental principles of all are those concerning the great spiritual truths and the moral virtues. The economists whom we have been criticizing, like their Marxist opponents, defended a system which was in fact, whatever it may have professed to be, materialistic; no Catholic theory, of course, could be that. It is one thing to put forward material welfare as though it were the most important factor in human life, but it is another to assert that material welfare and its pursuit have their rightful place in the life of a Christian. That place, for the Catholic social philosopher, is in subordination to spiritual welfare; and this means that material welfare is to be sought after only in so far as it does not impede spiritual development. I have expressed it in this way not because I wish to suggest that the pursuit of material welfare is something to be merely tolerated in a Catholic, but because I wish to guard myself from seeming to say that material welfare may be sought

only in so far as it advances spiritual development; for in this form my statement would seem to impose on all men a duty of asceticism which Catholic theology reserves for those who have voluntarily chosen it. The virtue of temperance does not limit us to such bodily goods as will satisfy our essential needs; this is asceticism such as the Gospel counsels but does not command. It required only that we do not seek them to such an extent as to injure our souls. Catholic social philosophy, then, does not ignore temporal welfare as something unworthy of a Christian; it treats it as good, though not the ultimate good, and it is this last clause which in this matter distinguishes our principles from those of materialists. "It must not be supposed that the entire attention of the Church is so fixed upon the spiritual progress of mankind that she neglects their temporal and earthly interests." (*Rerum Novarum*.) Thus we find Pope Leo XIII demanding that the worker should receive at least a wage sufficient to keep him and his family in decent conditions, and that he should not be overworked by his employer, and urging upon legislators the necessity for a wide distribution of ownership of property, especially of the land; and our present Holy Father Pope Pius XI, in his recent encyclicals, insists on the importance of social reconstruction and the abolition of "proletarianism" as conditions of a fully Christian life.

How is this temporal welfare to be secured? Not by abolishing the right of private property, as Marx desires; nor by leaving economic relations to the free play of competition, as the theory of *laissez-faire* would say; but by the combined action of the Church, the State, and associations of employers and trade unions. I cannot now discuss this action in detail. My point is that *the pressure of hard facts* has taught the world that if social reform is to come at all it must be along these lines.

Without offering any opinion as to whether State action in the past has always been wise, I have shown how it has proved absolutely necessary that

State action should be taken. And I have shown how associations of employers and trade unions have gradually asserted their indispensability in our social economy. Even the joint industrial committees set up under the Whitley scheme or independently of it were recommended last century by Pope Leo, and have been again recommended in the last couple of years by the Sacred Congregation of the Council (See *Trade Unions and Employers' Associations*: C.S.G.: 2d): and now again in the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*.

But it may be urged that there are no signs that the assistance of the Church has been found necessary. To this I must reply that its necessity was never clearer than at present, and that the need is felt, though in the confused way which one would expect in a predominantly non-Catholic country. It is clearly recognized by all who have given thought to our social troubles that at their root is mutual distrust and suspicion between the classes, leading to class hostility. That hostility has been made a dogma by the Marxists, as we saw it; it has been deplored as both unchristian and fatal to social progress by the Popes. To remedy this mutual distrust, we are told that there must be "a new spirit in industry." But what is that spirit to be? Obviously a spirit of unselfishness, of considering others and not merely oneself; even of self-sacrifice for the common good. Such a spirit as that can come from one source only, from the teaching and the grace of Our Lord. The classical economists canonized the spirit of self-seeking, and they laid the foundations of the Marxist doctrine of the class-war. On such a spirit and such a foundation no society can prosper, for a prosperous society is built up on willing cooperation; and that means unselfishness. No vague platitudes about the brotherhood of man or the beauty of self-sacrifice will change the hearts of men, only too prone to self-seeking. Nothing will do it but one hundred per cent Christianity; and that means Catholicism; and that means the Church.

A Christian Sociology for Today

At certain times, expressions of opinion from foreign sources are introduced into this collection. This universality of comment is striking proof of the universality of the problem and the international ramifications of Communism and Atheism. The following review is a typical example of serious book-reviewing in the tradition of Macaulay and the Edinburgh Review.

By CONRAD BONACINA

*From "G. K.'s Weekly," London,
June 7, 1934.*

PERHAPS the most hopeful sign of our times is the growing revolt of the Christian conscience against the present social and economic order. Christians of all denominations are gradually awakening to the fact that they are living in an order of society which is not only atheistic in its aims and outlook, but whose very structure is such as almost to void practical Christianity of its meaning. In theory we may still uphold the Christian rule of life in its full integrity; but its practice is becoming virtually impossible.

This awakening has brought many to the conviction that the so-called world crisis is fundamentally a religious crisis; that the root-cause of the muddle we are in is the denial and abandonment by Christendom of those spiritual values on which its civilisation was built up, and which are its heritage not from man but from God; and that therefore the solution to our problems is very largely a theological one.

Hence the world-wide revival of the Church's claim on *theological grounds* to have a voice in the organisation of society. Everywhere a new Christian social apologetic is being developed which "testifies to the truth that the power and justification for social redemption must be sought not in ethics but in theology," and which dogmatically refuses to admit as valid any economic law or social theory whose assumptions or implications threaten the primacy of Christian values.

Readers of this paper will not need to be told that among the foremost exponents of the new apologetic in this country is Mr. Maurice Reckitt, Editor of "Christendom." Mr. Reckitt belongs to that able group of Anglo-Catholic sociologists who believe that the social order should derive its sanctions from the dogmatic theology of the Church, and who advocate a return to the Catholic social tradition which was lost at the Reformation. Two years ago, he published "Faith and Society: A Study of the Structure, Outlook and Opportunity of the Christian Social Movement." The book was at once acclaimed as one of the most important contributions to the literature of Christian sociology that have appeared in our time, and he has now re-issued it in a cheap and abridged edition under the title "A Christian

Sociology for To-day."* Those interested in these matters, who have not read the earlier work, should hasten to procure this. In it they will find as full and illuminating a discussion of the sociological issues facing Christianity to-day as they can well wish for.

Mr. Reckitt develops his apologetic on three sides. He arraigns the present order as inimical to God and man alike, because of the assumptions on which it is based, the outlook it engenders, and the kind of life it necessitates; he asserts the Church's divine right to work for the establishment of the Kingdom of God in the social organism as well as in the individual soul; and he defends the absolute sovereignty and integrity of Christian values, not only on the higher grounds of Faith, but for reasons of social welfare and human happiness as well. It is the basic contention of his book, he tells us, that Christianity implies "a distinctive attitude to the organisation of political, economic and industrial life, and a standard of conduct in regard thereto which will often diverge from that commonly accounted correct by those who acknowledge no religious inspirations and sanctions." Thus, whatever subject he is discussing—and in the course of his analysis, he covers practically every aspect of contemporary social and economic life—he always approaches it from the standpoint of the Christian thinker, for whom each issue must be examined in the light of theological truth.

Our author is in the strict tradition of Catholic theology in basing the dynamic of social redemption on the tremendous fact of the Incarnation. "The whole effort of the Church and of the Christian in the social sphere is founded upon faith that in the Incarnation God has identified Himself with the fate of His creation." Properly understood, this conviction carries with it social consequences of profound import. "For the Incarnation testifies both to the potential perfection of earthly things . . . and also to the inestimable spiritual significance of the individual. God did not descend to save man *from* his earthly surroundings, but amidst those surround-

* "A Christian Sociology for To-day": an abridged edition of "Faith and Society," by Maurice B. Reckitt. Longmans. 4/6.

ings." Society can never be suffered to treat as instrumental a being who is of such significance to God that He sent His only begotten Son to redeem him. We see therefore, that faith in the Incarnation guarantees more securely than any secular philosophy can do, the three fundamental principles of human liberty, the essential equality of men, and the final and sufficient significance of the individual personality.

But it guarantees further the Church's right to work for the betterment of the social order, even though it means "meddling with the world." The world which God sanctified by entering as man, may not be given over to the Devil, whether he present himself as the economic law, scientific progress, the needs of industry, high finance, the absolute state, or under any other guise. Mr. Reckitt does not agree with those who interpret "My Kingdom is not of this world" as meaning that Christ has no message to social life. Unfortunately this heresy, which he rightly attacks throughout his book as one of the great stumbling blocks to the progress of Christian Sociology, is still widely held among Christians of all denominations. And not only among laymen. Many theologians hold it, and in this country at least, it finds strong ecclesiastical support. Whenever a Churchman raises his voice in the name of Christian charity against some glaring social wrong that the "free play of economic forces" has inflicted on our people, there will always be found some Dean or Bishop ready to rebuke him in Mammon's name, and to tell the world (amid the applause of the newspapers, that religion has nothing to do with economics, and that the Church has no right to interfere with the workings of the economic law. When this pestilent doctrine is preached from the pulpit, it is small wonder that people turn away from the Gospel of Christ and look elsewhere for their social redemption. If the Church is going to identify itself with the economic atheism of Industrial Capitalism, it can hardly complain if the millions prefer the other atheism of Marxist socialism. It at least promises them more.

Naturally the greater part of Mr. Reckitt's book deals with the problems raised by our Industrial civilisation. That our whole economic system stands condemned by all standards of value, whether Christian or simply human, goes without saying. But what is to be the precise attitude of the Christian Sociologist towards it? Can it be Christianised? Is it reasonable to suggest that if men will work them in the right spirit and surround them with the right intentions, the social institutions of today can be made responsive to Christian demands? Mr. Reckitt's answer to this question is an emphatic No. You cannot Christianise a system that is basically false, merely by reforming the ethics of its administration. We have to realise that "the complex fabric of theological assumptions, human relations

and technical operations, which combine to make up that system, erected without reference to man's first duty towards God—to say nothing of his second towards his neighbour—is a denial not only of ethical requirements but of intellectual ones. Our industrial life is a treachery not only to Goodness but equally to Truth." Hence, "the effort towards the formulation of a Christian Sociology will never get anywhere if it occupies itself with attempts to make a system based upon false assumptions and directed to unreal purposes produce morally satisfactory results." That is admirably said, and it is final.

But while he condemns our industrial system for the evil thing it is, our author does not feel called upon, as a Christian sociologist, to reject modern industrial technique as such—not without important qualifications. He denounces the manifold evils that have resulted from mechanization and power-production, and he agrees with those who hold that machinery has brought more misery than happiness to mankind. But may not that be because of its misdirection by the human mind? He quotes with approval Mr. Christopher Dawson's remark that "the disease of modern civilisation lies neither in science nor in machinery, but in the false philosophy with which they have been associated," and he warns us against seeming to urge the rejection of "good gifts and liberating opportunities that God has revealed through art and science simply from fear of the consequences of their misuse, or from incapacity to discover their true potentialities." He frankly says that the questions here involved do not admit of short answers, but he seems to me to put the position very fairly when he says: "The blind acceptance of machinery in all its existing forms and for all the purposes for which it is now employed is a form of idolatry to which the Christian can never submit. But there is an opposite recklessness in the wholesale condemnation of machinery which seems to carry the unperceived implication that God has made a mistake in giving to men scientific and inventive capacities."

I may here remark that he views with some hopefulness the emancipating possibilities that the Power Age holds out to us; which means that he is not afraid of the Leisure State!—provided of course it is run on Christian lines and with a Christian philosophy behind it. All good Distributists should read his chapter on "The Universalisation of Leisure." It is one of the best things I have read on the subject. (I say this, of course, because I agree with every word of it.)

Mr. Reckitt's proposals for the reconstruction of our economic system are bound up with the Social Credit theory, of which he is a well-known advocate. He gives a full analysis of the theory and expresses his conviction that it is both economically sound, and valid from the Christian standpoint. "Social

Credit," he writes, "the 'just Price,' a universal dividend, self-government in industry, and the 'labour share'—upon such a foundation as this the economic order might attain to a true efficiency, while fulfilling the requirements of an authentic Christian sociology." How far his analysis is sound, I cannot presume to say, not being an expert in these matters. The theory strikes me as a very attractive one, and if I hesitate to accept it, it is certainly not because the notion of getting "something for nothing" shocks my moral sense, but rather because it seems to me "too good to be true"! My innate pessimism is somehow affrighted at the very idea of such a happy consummation. I cannot believe it possible, and I lack the temerity of faith which can say *Credo quia incredibile!*

Our author sees two characteristic directions in which Christian social thinking is tending to develop at the present time. "On the one hand a school is to be found which frankly proclaims and accepts the opportunities of the Power Age, de-

mands that financial hypothesis and the technique of accountancy and price fixing shall be brought into relation therewith, and faces undismayed the problems, social and spiritual, which open up with the prospect of a universalization of Leisure. Another school, on the other hand, starts from an emphasis upon the qualitative aspects of work and of life, stresses the necessity for decentralized responsibility and the small unit, and calls for a radical reorganization of industrial technique so as to arrest and reverse the tendency towards the subdivision of labour." Diverse as these two outlooks are, he does not think that the differences between them are as great as is the divergence of both from conventional economic opinion, and he hints that it may not be impossible to achieve a harmony between what is essential in each view, though none such has yet been formulated. Here, many will disagree with him, or think him unduly optimistic. Speaking for myself, it is on just such a synthesis that I build my hopes for the future.



Right of Private Ownership

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An article reprinted in part from the CLERGY REVIEW. The author is a Lecturer in the University of Fribourg.

IT is far beyond our scope to analyse each of the many forms of economic socialism: we intend merely to establish one of the fundamental theses of the Encyclicals "Rerum Novarum" and "Quadragesimo Anno"—*private ownership is a natural right.*

Even those who look upon private ownership as a social necessity, are not all of the opinion that it is a natural right. Schmoller, the famous advocate of "all for the individual by the State," has little about him that is socialistic, in spite of his sobriquet "Kathedersozialist," yet he asserts that ownership is nothing but an "historical category," due to exterior circumstances that might very well disappear. Let us try to solve the problem rationally.

Nobody can doubt that the fruits of Nature must be adequate for the needs of mankind, nor that man has the right to their consumption, at least in so far as is necessary, nor that this consumption is individual. Therefore, one cannot question the right of a private person to seize upon that which is nobody's property, and which is necessary for the conservation of his life. That is "occupation" in its simplest form. To affirm that man has a right to live is to assert right of occupation in this primitive form. Now that implies private ownership, for occupation ends in consumption.

There is, then, at least one way of acquiring ownership which cannot be denied without denying the right to live. It is interesting to note that this is the *ius abutendi*, which, as we have said, caused so much indignation. It is that which is called "occupation" and which has called forth the socialists' invectives.

There is one point, however, which is worthy of note: i.e., that the right of occupation has been greatly extended by positive law and custom, so that the *ius primi occupantis* is not a natural right in all its applications. It often implies an element bearing the character of a contract, expressed or implicit. But occupation, as a fundamental title to ownership, is above discussion.

But more than that can be said: private ownership is a relation between the object possessed and a human individual who, however, is essentially a social being. Goods of Nature—and all goods contain some benefit of Nature—are in themselves undivided. If, therefore, some material reality belongs exclusively to an individual independently of all voluntary contract, in the first place, it must, by a natural relation, include something more than what is given by Nature to everybody; and, in the second place, this material object must have an exclusive

relation to this individual, by reason of an individual peculiarity not immersed in social collectivity. Now this non-social element, productive of a non-natural wealth, exists: it is *personal labor*. Thus, in productive work we have the undeniable foundation of the natural right of private ownership.

All this may appear complicated and abstract. Yet it is necessary to penetrate into this metaphysical basis, if we want to prove the right of private ownership to be something more than a transient opportunity, an "historical category."

What is society? What is a human collectivity? We must vigorously assert, in opposition to the pernicious idea of Rousseau, that social life does not result from a contract, but is a natural fact, required by man's very nature itself. This would not justify us, however, in making an absolute comparison between human society and colonies of infusoria, organic associations of certain insects or herds of beasts. All these biological assimilations are deficient in their foundation. A gathering of animals is composed of individuals which exist solely by the species and for the species: their association is a result of an instinct, a consequence of their physiological and psychic constitution. Men are individuals and so far are of the species and for the species: they belong to the collectivity and exist for the collectivity. But man is more than an individual, each one is a *person*. It is then absolutely impossible to reduce society to the same level as a mere gathering of animals, because it is an organic association of individual-persons.

We must always insist on this fundamental truth: that human society is composed of individual-persons, for this is the basis of all social philosophy. What then is this "personality" which raises man above all Nature and all society?

The problem is worthy of a deep examination, but is outside the scope of the present article. Let us simply observe two important facts. Man, by his intelligence, has conquered time and space, and has attained immutable truths, and by his free will, he can take initiatives which may change the current of events. This element of personality places him beyond and above the universe. He, therefore, does not belong entirely to the earthly and temporary order, as society does. The latter is, therefore, composed of members who are above it in one aspect of their nature: by his transcendence over Nature and society, man escapes the absorbing action of society. He is a world in himself. All his fellow creatures

have duties towards him and he has rights which the whole world must respect. Consequently all that results from his personality belongs to him and to him alone: and society can transgress this principle only to its own destruction, for, by violating personality and recognizing in man nothing more than an individual who is part of an association, it ceases to be a society of *persons* and lowers itself to the level of a herd. Now something of *man's personality is latent in all human labor that is really productive*: man modifies the aspect of Nature by his free will: his intelligence guides him in the production of things necessary to life. In everything man's labor produces, there is always something of the laborer's personality which is in itself incommunicable. That is the reason why there exists a relation of cause and effect between the worker and his work. The effect he produces belongs to him, by reason of his personal work, it is his "private property."

Here we have the unshaken foundation of the right to private ownership. If we review all the economic theories from antiquity to the present day, we find them oscillating between individualism and the tendency to socialism. The true reason of this hesitation is not altogether clear, but we can explain it by this fundamental truth, man is both an *individual and a person*. Unless we have a precise notion of human personality and keep in view this individual personality, which is totally independent and forms a whole by itself, it will never be possible to justify the right to private ownership.

Certain forms of ownership seem to irritate socialists more than others. We call to mind immediately Karl Marx and his famous triad, "money, goods, money," as opposed to the natural triad, "goods, money, goods."

The former, according to him, is characteristic of the capitalist regime, although it seems inherent to the mercantile school and its delusive greed for precious metal. Its theory of increase of value, due to labor and even manual labor at that, is widely known: it foretold progressive industrialization, concentration of capital in fewer and fewer hands, proletarianization of the nation, and final catastrophe which ought to have brought about collectivism of capital, and perhaps, even in the end, integral communism.

It is important to know that the Marxist theory of increase of value is manifestly false, and that its predictions have been hopelessly contradicted by facts. The socialist, Bernstein, has written interesting articles on this subject, and George Sorel, the revolutionary syndicalist, said openly that this kind of socialism is a thing of the past. However, we must not underrate the influence of the Marxist theory: the name of Marx still has an enormous prestige: in many countries it is identified with socialism itself. After all these other kinds of socialism, so called "reformist socialism," "socialism

of movement," are far from being inoffensive. In fact, all attack the right of private ownership and would abolish especially the ownership of capital. And yet private ownership of capital is nothing but the ownership of the produce of labor. Capital, in the shape of factories, machines, or money, is but a produce of labor with the purpose of further production. As soon as man gets beyond the half-animal state of picking fruit, Capital is the necessary condition of all progress; even the bow and arrow of the savage are capital, for they are made by labor and Nature. Capital merely shows us the marvelous fecundity of labor, which coupled with some tool, increases tenfold the productivity of subsequent labor. One has as much right to the ownership of capital, as to the produce accruing from one's actual efforts, and Leo XIII wisely wrote that any attack on capital is a spoliation of the worker.

It is the height of inconsistency on the part of the socialists to propose for the worker the entire product of his labor, and yet to deny his right to capital.

But even in the grossest of errors we may detect a spark of truth. For socialists, the abolition of private ownership of capital is the means of suppressing "Capitalism," which is quite another thing. Capitalism is a system of economics in which certain members' sole contribution towards production is capital. In this system, capitalists, although always contributing the same amount of capital, profit or lose from the fluctuations of the market, from the initiative or incapacity of managers and directors, from the assiduity or laziness of the employees. In return the proprietor of the capital is head of the enterprise, at least theoretically. Capitalism, of course, has not been without good results, nevertheless, it has given rise to intolerable and criminal horrors. To combat the abuses of capital is more than a praiseworthy act, it is a duty in which Leo XIII has given all good Catholics a fine example. Moreover, at the present moment capitalists themselves are working steadily, though perhaps unconsciously, for the destruction of capitalism. Pius XI draws our attention to the fact that it is the great financial powers which today are disquieting, and are even a danger to, the independence of the States. But to put forward collective ownership of capital in order to repress the abuses of capitalism is absurd: it amounts to throwing the child down the sink to get rid of the dirty water in its bath.

Private capital in the form of land ownership is worthy of special notice. "*Rerum Novarum*," which does not theorize, but speaks with authority, has precisely chosen this kind of ownership to defend private ownership of capital. The Encyclical speaks of the honest working man who employs his savings in buying a piece of land. In the main, landed capital today is justified as well as any other capital.

It has been objected (1) that land is not exten-

sible and that Nature has put it at the disposal of the whole human race; (2) that land increases in value without the proprietors' cooperation, but by the work of others and by the collective progress of the whole society. Hence they conclude that land should remain a collective possession and that all private ownership of land is against natural law.

It is certain that scandalous abuses have sometimes prevailed in land ownership, but to infer that all right of ownership should be abolished, is a ridiculous sophism: it is obvious that the ownership of land can be abused in much the same way as food and drink and money, but to conclude that the possession of land is against natural law, is equivalent to forbidding drink and food because there are gluttons and drunkards.

There is practically no productive land which is not made so by labor. The surface of the earth must necessarily suffice for mankind, and, before this principle, all "latifundia" and private hunting-grounds must yield. But if land has been occupied first by right of legitimate occupation, and if altered in value by the labor of man, the right of private ownership is conformable to the principle dear to socialists, "the produce of labor belongs to the laborer."

Moreover, the question is of little consequence in practice. The proprietors of land have changed hundreds of times, that is to say, hundreds of times a different proprietor has paid the value of the land with wealth that is of a different nature to land. And if the town, or "commune" or State, or a syndicate, were to seize upon a piece of land, it would be a shameful injustice not to pay the full market value.

However, personal labor is not the only means of acquiring ownership. We have already mentioned inheritance. Ownership certainly belongs to the individual person until his death, then, according to most socialists, it should go to the collectivity. There is no reason whatever for this. The root of private ownership is human personality, and the human "personality" of any individual does not belong to society. Society is nowise justified in absorbing individual ownership, and we can see no other means of disposing of it than the owner's free will: in other words, the dying proprietor must have full freedom to leave his property to whomsoever he wishes.

This right to make our will becomes complicated for several reasons. First, there are many social elements to consider, then there is the great "pre-social" fact: the family. As an individual the father of the family is not the owner of his goods; if we maintain the sound and Christian notion of matrimony, the husband and wife in some respects form but one person. When St. Thomas says that between son and father, as such, there is no justice

in the strict sense, it is not in order to diminish their mutual duties but to increase their obligatory character. Justice is a virtue *ad alterum*, and a son is not completely "alter" in relation to his father: *filius est aliquid patris*. There is a certain community, especially of material goods, between the members of a family, and that is why the handing down of ownership from father to son is not simply a transmission in all respects. Therefore, if the collectivity lays hold of all the property of a father at his death, it is taking what belongs to the wife and son.

There are many social problems which arise from this right of inheritance. We all have seen the lamentable results of some wills: lazy, drunken, loose-living, unworthy sons have inherited from honorable and hard-working fathers. The same difficulties arise in the case of wealthy people whose moral attitude does not correspond to the means which God has placed in their hands. But we are at present concerned only with the right of ownership acquired by heritage: this right is just as sound and unassailable as that which is founded on personal labor. It carries with it serious duties, but at the same time it constitutes a right.

In a word, the right of private ownership is a natural right: one cannot deny it without destroying human nature. Does that mean that nobody has the right of supervision over the use and consumption of our goods? Far from it: such a notion would be utterly absurd. Right of ownership and the exercise of this right are subject to the moral law. Everything must serve for the good of man according to what conscience dictates, and the demands of social justice burden private ownership with duties that are particularly pressing in the present state of social agitation.

It is beyond our scope to go into detailed applications of this social justice, although the Encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno" continually lays stress on its importance. To determine all these applications, one must possess the rectitude of a moralist, the science of an economist and the prudence of a politician. Certain principles must never be forgotten.

The right of ownership is a "pre-social" natural right. However, man must live normally in society, because social life is a means normally necessary to the realization of man's end. That is why every human person has strict obligations in justice toward society. Society has the right to exist and progress normally. Individuals have the duty of assuring its life and progress by the means moral and material, at their disposal. Private ownership is one of the most important of these means. . . .

Right of private ownership is nowise weakened by the obligation to surrender *a part* of one's personal possessions to the social body. In fact, in all our moral life our rights are counterbalanced by the

rights of others which impose duties on us. We have a right to walk on the pavement; have we the right to trample on a fallen child? We have the natural right of private ownership, but it is tempered by the natural right of society to live. Our duty of social justice, as many other duties, *restricts* our right of private ownership but never *suppresses* it.

Let us together with Leo XIII and Pius XI call private ownership an indisputable natural right. The surrendering of superfluous wealth is required

by *social justice* only when the life and normal progress of society demand it. *Charity*, divine charity, must govern the use of our superfluous possessions, i. e., those which remain when we have fulfilled all our social duties. To deny the right of private ownership is an outrage to the nobility of labor, an attack on human *personality*. And if we do not want to lower society to the level of a herd of animals it must remain an association of *persons*, aiming at culture, of which the supreme values, behind the veil of eternity, become one in the Being of God.



Greed Is the Witch

By MICHAEL O'SHAUGHNESSY

To arouse business men to a sense of their responsibility is the purpose of this thoughtful paper. Its author is editor of O'SHAUGHNESSY'S OIL BULLETIN and author of "Oil Tariff and World Zoning." Reprinted from the COMMONWEAL, November 4, 1932.

STATESMEN, economists and industrial leaders everywhere are groping in the dark for causes of, and remedies for, the world-wide business depression. The most commonly accepted "cause" is overproduction. But by its very nature, overproduction is an effect, not a cause. It is clear that before a remedy can be found for the present and recurring periods of business depression, the cause of overproduction must be definitely determined. And what is it? Avarice—which is defined by Webster as "excessive or inordinate desire of gain, covetousness"; which in turn is defined as "excessive desire for what belongs to another."

All wealth comes from the earth. The excessive desire for wealth results in a greater production of the products of the earth than the world can consume. As potential supply in the world, as now constituted, is greater than demand, a universal scramble for wealth ensues, through trade selfishness, unfair competition, etc., which results in social and industrial injustice.

The desire for gain in the individual is legitimate to the extent of all obtaining financial independence for themselves and for their families, in their station in life, but becomes avarice when huge fortunes are amassed by a comparative few at the expense of others. Notwithstanding the fact that the lot of the average citizen in the United States today is better than in any country in the world, and in any of all history, we are a nation of hundreds of millionaires and millions of citizens that cannot earn a decent living. Human labor is still considered a commodity, the market for which is controlled by money. As the world is now constituted, not only is it impossible for the masses of human beings to attain financial independence, but vast hordes everywhere are unable to make a decent living. In all countries, money has accumulated in the hands of so few that the buying power of the great mass of the population is not sufficient to consume the production of the overdeveloped capacity of industries producing the necessities of life. The result is that commodity prices are below the cost of production and both money and labor are unemployed.

On May 26, Under Secretary of the Treasury Mills made the statement that in the United States, in 1929, out of a total population of 120,000,000, there were only 2,500,000 individuals and about 250,000 corporations that paid an income tax; 380,000 paid 97 per cent of the total amount received from individual taxes; 504,000 individuals had an income over \$1,000,000.

In a compilation by the *Business Week* it is shown that 92 banking organizations, comprising 3 per cent of the banks in the United States, control 42 per cent of the total banking resources, reported by the Controller of the Currency, June 30, 1930.

An article in the *American Economic Review* for March, 1931, estimates that 200 corporations control between 35 and 45 per cent of the business wealth of the United States (excluding from business wealth "that of the government, agriculture and professions"). It also shows that these 200 corporations, with less than 2,000 directors, during recent years have shown a rate of growth, three times as fast as 300,000 smaller corporations, and that if this rate of growth is maintained, these 200 corporations, in twenty years, will own half the entire national wealth of the United States.

Money has ceased to be a medium for the exchange of commodities and services, and in its great accumulation in few hands, dominates all human activities. The situation has developed that the possessors of great wealth, as well as the masses who have nothing, are both the victims of the tyranny of money over human beings. Laws designed to protect the masses and to secure a better distribution of wealth and opportunity have been powerless to stop the gravitation of money toward the points of greatest accumulation.

The basis of our industrial structure is popularly supposed to be the reward of personal initiative. This right of freedom of action by the individual involves the corresponding duty to use it for the good of all. The fact that business in the United States in the last seventy-five years has fluctuated between some twenty odd peaks of prosperity and depths of depression, indicates that the comparatively few have not rendered to the masses service in the way of leadership, commensurate with their disproportionate reward of the right of personal initiative. Never before in the history of the United States has business, big and little, so generally acknowledged its inability to conduct its affairs honestly and fairly. This paradox of claiming personal initiative, while running to the government for laws to control personal conduct, is a phenomenon until recently unknown in this country. The application of private initiative in this machinery age of mass production and concentration of money in few hands, has resulted in a disproportionate distribution of the rewards and benefits. The concentration of money in comparatively few great corporations, controlled by an infinitesimal few, enormously rich

individuals, and the extraordinary development of machine mass production has resulted in an alarming reduction in the demand for human labor and in the restriction of opportunity. A substantial number of citizens owning stock in these great corporations constitute a sort of middle-class, content to perpetuate control by the overlords and entirely indifferent to the welfare of the great mass of citizens.

Machines must serve and not destroy human beings. Labor displaced by machinery that cannot be absorbed in new industries created by it, will probably have to be provided with an opportunity to earn a living by shorter hours for all labor. The increased cost of manufactures resulting from such a solution will, by the nature of the problem, have to be borne by capital in a reduced earning-power of money, not, as represented, in inflated corporation capitalization, but on the actual amount of money employed in industry. In considering an equitable relation between wages for money and human labor, the basis must be actual money employed and not its fictitious earning-power. Passing on this increased cost to consumers would simply continue, and even aggravate, the present deadlock.

A redistribution of wealth will probably be attempted in the United States by increasing the income taxes in the higher brackets, on the theory that increased taxes, direct or indirect, on those that have little or nothing will not increase revenues and will further curtail the buying-power of the masses. Other means indicated by the trend of public opinion, are, by increasing inheritance taxes, and perhaps by abolishing tax-exempt securities. The resulting increased national revenues are likely to be distributed among the masses through old-age pensions, employment and health insurance, prosecution of public works on a grand scale, and other forms of state Socialism.

This is no new situation in the history of the world. The social injustice involved in it has been continuous. The fact is as stated before, that a better distribution of wealth exists today than at any time heretofore, and especially is this the case in the United States; but this very fact makes a solution of the problem more urgent. It also holds out the hope of a more orderly adjustment than in previous popular upheavals against social injustice, but the masses, particularly in the United States, have tasted some of the sweets of comfort and even luxury, the continued possession of which is threatened. They may be indifferent to their civic rights and duties, but not to comforts and pleasures.

A concomitant of wealth accumulated in too few hands is excessive and widespread debt, which has always been the irritant that starts mass action for relief from social injustice. It is estimated that in the United States, debts, governmental, corporate and individual, amounted, in 1929, to about \$153,-

000,000,000, which is over one-half of all the value of the property of the country, \$350,000,000,000. Since 1929, property values have declined very substantially, while the liquidating figure of debts has increased in indirect ratio through the corresponding appreciation in the value of gold. It is entirely possible that interest and amortization charges on this debt represent an amount in excess of the possible profit in the production of the necessities of life, that can be purchased by the people with their buying power restricted by the concentration of wealth in so few hands. The relation of debt to the distribution of wealth and purchasing-power of the masses is more unfavorable in all other countries of the world than in the United States.

Transportation of ideas by cable, telephone, automobile, airplane and radio has so vastly improved that it is difficult to suppress or color facts, and to obstruct the dissemination of ideas. Again, new political ideas, particularly in Russia and Italy, are being worked out on a grand scale. Russia, alone among the countries of the earth, has no unemployment problem. Rich and poor, high and low, everywhere are bewildered, apprehensive and discontented. All are conscious that things are not as they should be.

Humanity's problem today is that of all ages since the beginning of recorded history, the struggle to control avarice. After nineteen centuries of Christianity, the comparative few that possess wealth find it impossible to realize their true destiny of being trustees under God for the great masses of humanity that have nothing. It must be kept in mind that all the excessively rich are not avaricious, and that countless numbers of the moderately well-off and poor are infected with the poison. Hatred of the rich is but a form of idolatry of money. The more equitable distribution of wealth is a problem to be solved by the privileged few.

The desire for gain in corporations is legitimate to the extent of their providing steady employment for labor at fair wages, serving the public efficiently and paying their stockholders a fair return on the actual money invested in the business and not on capitalization based on fictitious earning-power. They are guilty of avarice when they underpay or underemploy labor, overcharge or cheat the public, take business from or destroy rivals by unfair competition, and when they accumulate wealth in excess of the legitimate requirements of their business, and for domination, social, industrial or political.

The desire for gain in nations is legitimate to the extent of each insuring equality of opportunity to all its citizens in their legitimate efforts to acquire wealth, but they are guilty of avarice when they attempt to enrich their own citizens at the expense of other peoples.

Largely as a result of the World War over 60 per cent of the gold money held by all governments and

their central banks has accumulated in the United States and France. In round figures \$5,000,000,000 in the United States and \$2,500,000,000 in France, out of a total of about \$11,250,000,000 for the world. Money gravitates internationally toward the points of greatest accumulation, and money so accumulated becomes frozen, so as to speak, in the hands of the countries possessing it. It seems impossible to stop the flow of gold toward the United States and France, or to effect a redistribution among other countries whose gold reserves have become impaired. This vicious circle is contracting so rapidly as to threaten to strangle the financial world: the gold hoarded in France and the United States ceases to be of practical use to the countries possessing it and becomes a menace to the financial existence of countries who vitally need it.

Not only does the United States possess nearly half of the liquid gold money capital of the world, but certain European nations owe the United States about \$11,500,000,000, which, generally speaking, represents goods purchased by the Allies during the war, and destroyed in the conduct of that struggle. The interest and principal on this debt is payable in gold. The debtor nations, with a present insufficiency of gold to conduct their international trade, can only pay the interest and principal of their debt by a profit over the cost of production, of their exportable surpluses of goods, over and above their home requirements. Commodity prices are below the 1913 level, but corporation productive capacity and capitalization are about double that of the pre-war year. A difficult situation, this, to liquidate.

In such a situation, the United States built its tariff wall higher to prevent other nations from selling their exportable surpluses on this market. Most other nations have done likewise, so that international commerce throughout the world has become almost impossible, and payment of inter-governmental debts perhaps impossible.

Some correctives appear to be imminent. Inter-governmental debts are likely to be scaled down to a point where the debtors at least can pay the service charges on them without endangering their industrial existence. Some adjustment of international private debts may be necessary. Lower tariffs are likely to become recognized as indispensable to revive international commerce. The abandonment of the gold standard by Great Britain, likely to be followed by all nations except the United States and France, is but the acknowledgment of the fact that the gold hoard of these two countries threatens the industrial and financial life of the rest of the world. A conspicuous example, this, of international avarice overreaching itself. A reversion to a barter basis between nations in international commerce, exemplified in the wheat-coffee transaction between the

United States and Brazil, is a step backward to primitive methods.

And it is to such a pass that avarice has brought mankind. The world is suffering from overproduction and underconsumption, and the cause of both is avarice. A staggering surplus of all the necessities of life exists throughout the world and countless hordes of human beings are on the verge of starvation.

Avarice cannot be controlled by law or any other artificial expedient. A tragic element in the chaos that has overtaken the financial and industrial world is that men have lost faith in their ability to curb their greed and to be fair to one another in the conduct of the world's business. In such a state of moral bankruptcy they seek laws to force them to do what they can only do for themselves. But the effectiveness of law depends upon the personal moral responsibility of the citizen to obey it. No force of government can compel its citizens, devoid of moral responsibility, who have lost faith in themselves and others, to obey its laws.

Avarice is a moral cancer that is eating away the vitals of mankind. Its ravages can be curbed only by human beings practising self-restraint and doing to others as they would be done by. This may, as many contend, involve a change in human nature, but it is easier to change human nature to the extent of making men fair and honest in business than it is to force them to be so by law. The one is at least possible. The other, utterly impossible. If we are to preserve civilization, mass machinery production and distribution and money must be opposed by a strenuous and universal effort to attain moral responsibility in the individual. Not philanthropy but charity, not legality but justice. A moral awakening is the one thing most necessary.

If a fraction of the effort was expended in arousing business men to a sense of their moral responsibility that is spent in devising artificial compulsions to make them fair and honest in business, the present unsurmountable obstacle in most of the problems of the world would be removed.

Catholics, unlike other Christian brethren, have been blessed by Almighty God with a definite moral code, interpreted and enforced by an infallible authority, which applies with equal force to the social and business relations among men, as well as in spiritual matters. This blessing implies a corresponding duty that Catholic laymen, leaders in finance and industry, use their brains and resources to battle manfully against avarice to establish Christian principles in the conduct of the world's business. If a baker's dozen of outstanding Catholic industrial and financial leaders could be induced to organize and finance such a movement, they might easily be the lump that would leaven the whole mass and do the country a service of inestimable value. This would, of course, require money. Can any money be found to fight avarice and save the world?

Babbitt & Son Go Red

By MARTIN SOMMERS

From the "New Outlook," Aug., 1934

What progress Communism? Considerable, the writer reports, in the upper brackets of the white collar class, and in the schools of the nation. This article examines the method by which the new recruits are made and poses a challenge to the conservative leaders.

ON a stifling Saturday evening of the current summer what are politely called the exigencies of journalism yanked me from beneath a beach club parasol and left me perspiring aboard a train bound for Manhattan. Beside me, to my surprise, I discovered a successful young corporation lawyer, wearing a hot blue wool suit and a maroon tie. I was surprised because only a few hours before I'd seen him, in white flannels and polo shirt, disporting himself on the club beach sands with his seven-year-old son and four-year-old daughter.

"What brings you to town on a night like this?" I asked him.

"The rally at the Garden," he answered.

The only rally at the Garden, I happened to know, was a mass meeting of Communists to protest Hitler murders. I could not imagine my handsome and scholarly acquaintance, who works for no such firm as Shyster, Flywheel, and Shyster, but gets his \$10,000-to-\$15,000 a year as a "coming-man" in a firm boasting some of the most sonorous and conservative names in America, deserting the cool sands and beautiful people of the beach for a gathering of sweaty, uproarious and tiresome Reds in the sun-baked confines of Madison Square Garden. So I asked him if I had heard him aright.

"Oh, yes," he answered. "You see I'm one of the vice-chairmen, and I've got to be there."

"Well, but, are you a Communist?"

"Yes," the attorney answered lightly, "I've been both a Republican and a Democrat and today I think the only thing you can decently be is a Communist."

The information was indeed pretty shocking. Professionally nobody in the country is more devoted to preservation of the rights and properties of the privileged classes of capitalism than this young lawyer. His job is the conservation of the estates of deceased rugged individuals and the safeguarding of the old-fashioned rights of big corporations. Yet by political faith, in his private life, he is a Communist and he makes personal sacrifices for that faith. In addition he risks losing his job and the pleasant fruits which twelve to fifteen years of hard legal labors have harvested for himself, his wife and his children.

Are citizens of that type, with so much to lose, be-

coming active Communists? I decided to find out. I discovered that some of them are—although at this time the reasons for taking such a step, as advanced by them, are more important than their numbers. But, most important of all, I discovered that a great many of their children, now in schools and colleges, are becoming active Communists because, with the corporation lawyer, they think "the only thing you can decently be is a Communist." . . .

In recounting my discovery of good citizens and solid Americans turning Communist I do not propose to argue the cases of Corliss Lamont, son of suave Thomas W. Lamont, the distinguished front partner of J. P. Morgan & Co., or Alfred M. Bingham, son of rock-ribbed Republican Hiram Bingham, capitalist and former United States Senator from Connecticut. Recently young Bingham was sentenced to thirty days in jail and young Lamont was arrested at the same time because they joined Communists and strikers in militantly picketing a Jersey City furniture plant. So far as I know they are very good citizens who have turned radical for sincere, intelligent reasons. But if they are they will not be so acknowledged by the public because they are sons of "great men." The unreasoning public prejudice against sons of rich or "great" men is so violent (it is much easier for a rich man to get into Heaven than it is for his son to get people to take him seriously!) that they are certain to be set down as crackpots or parlor pinks if they show radical tendencies. That is why I am not arguing the case of Bingham or Lamont, although everybody who knows the Lamonts knows Corliss always has been considered far brighter than his brother, Thomas W., Jr., who now is following in the footsteps of Thomas W., Sr., so dutifully.

But I'd like to give you the case of Paul P. Crosbie, of Sunnyside Gardens, Queens, New York City (you'll find his name in the 'phone book), solid citizen, insurance broker, good husband, worthy father and patriot who has proved his love of this country. I'm sure you'll agree, when you know Mr. Crosbie of Sunnyside Gardens, that nobody can call him a crackpot. He is a composite photograph of the best type of American citizen and his deeds have proved his devotion to the very noblest principles of what Republicans and Democrats call Americanism in their Fourth of July speeches. Yet Mr. Crosbie, of

Sunnyside Gardens, recently became a red, red Communist, is crusading for the Communist party now and intends to fight it out on that front throughout his lifetime, no matter what the cost.

Crosbie was born a minister's son in rural Wisconsin and he knew hard farm work in his youth. He worked his way through Lake Forest Academy, outside Chicago, and went on to Harvard, where Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a fellow student at the time. They studied under the best set of savants in Harvard's illustrious history. After graduation from Harvard young Crosbie, a lover of the soil, tried dry farming for a few years in Western Kansas and fared no better or worse than most of the dry farmers in the Western Kansas of that day. He came to New York City flat broke in 1909, got a job in the insurance business and worked so hard that he became quite quickly a prosperous broker.

Along came the World War. Crosbie believed his country menaced. At thirty-six, the father of five children, he enlisted in the Army. He was graduated a second lieutenant from the First Officers' Training Camp at Fort Myer, Va., assigned to the 313th Field Artillery, and sent to the front. He won promotion to first lieutenant through gallantry in leading his men at San Mihiel and in the Meuse-Argonne, where he was under fire for fifty-four consecutive days. When the war was over he returned to insurance with redoubled vigor.

Crosbie prospered moderately but substantially. He bought a nice house in country-like Sunnyside Gardens. He was known as an agreeable golfing companion, a better-than-average contract bridge player, and a sporting trout fisherman. He also was a leader in American Legion affairs, the Queens Parent-Teacher Association and the community social life. His insurance brokerage business at 130 William Street was good and he was acquiring a fortune which would give him more time for trout fishing as he grew older.

Along about the time the matter of how this country was being governed began to be of economic importance to the people in it—in short, after the Wall Street crash—Crosbie, in common with a great many other business men, began to take an interest in politics. He saw abuses clearly and sought to correct them through working from within the dominant party. He was an able Democratic district captain in Queens for four years, trying to be very practical about correcting evils. At fifty-three, Crosbie appeared to be sailing the even course of his type of American.

You can imagine the surprise, then, of the many good friends and neighbors of Paul P. Crosbie, sound business man, fine citizen, when they picked up their newspapers a few weeks ago and discovered that he had been arrested for flourishing a Soviet banner in a Communists' parade! Surely there was some mistake. But no, Crosbie blandly

admitted he was Unit Organizer of the Communist party in Long Island City, Queens!

What had happened to Crosbie? Let Crosbie tell it.

"Nobody was more enthusiastic over the Roosevelt Administration than I," he told me over the luncheon table. "I actually sat at the radio and thrilled from the top of my head to my toes over President Roosevelt's inaugural address.

"But by September of 1933 I had become convinced that the Roosevelt NRA program was designed to strengthen the hold of financed capital at the expense of the great majority of the producers and consumers. I became convinced that the two existing parties are hopeless because both parties are organized to serve the capitalist class—the Democrats as much as the Republicans ever thought of being.

"My mind, of course, had been closed to such words as Communism and Bolshevism. Like other Americans I looked upon Lenin and Stalin as the worst forms of dictators. In looking about for some political faith my mind and conscience would permit me to accept I first examined the program of the Socialist Party. After careful study I came to the conclusion that it was hopelessly lacking in vitality.

"My first contact came through looking into a New York Telephone Directory. I found the Communists had headquarters. I visited them. My inquiry about Communism from a young lady at the information desk seemed to arouse suspicion until I convinced her that I merely wished to study the principles of the program of the Communist party. She consented to recommend certain reading for me. A few days later I returned, this time with a request that I be introduced to some one who could answer certain questions that had developed out of my reading. The fact that I soon made application to join the Communist party is evidence that my questions were answered to my satisfaction."

What were the reactions of Crosbie's relatives, friends and neighbors when they discovered that he was a parading, banner-waving Red, getting himself arrested in Communist street demonstrations?

Reactions exhibited a very sharp contrast. He showed me a letter from a brother, to whom he had been very close throughout life. The brother wrote seriously and compassionately, expressing the belief that worry over the financial situation had upset Crosbie's mind. The brother earnestly urged that Crosbie go to the New York Medical Center at once and have his mind thoroughly examined. First Crosbie laughed, and then he felt very sorry for his brother. A contrasting letter came from one of the greatest of our American educators, a man whose name is known and spoken in universities around the world. The educator heartily congratulated Crosbie and said that, if such a thing were pos-

sible, his respect for him had been infinitely increased by the stand he had taken.

I suspected that his fellow insurance men, with whom Crosbie does business daily from his downtown New York offices, might have been moved to condemn him. He told me this was not the case. Some of them came to him and expressed their admiration for his honest stand for the principles he had adopted. One, an extraordinarily successful insurance man, said:

"You did the right thing—I wish I could see my way clear to do it. The change is sure to come."

And what about Communist Crosbie's stand as regards his wife and five children?

Well, when Patriot Crosbie, the father of five children who believed the German Empire menaced his country, enlisted in the World War he was convinced he was doing the right thing for his young and the young of the United States. As he saw it—and still sees it—he was at the time merely a medium for providing food and clothing for his children. He had adequate insurance when he enlisted, so they would have been provided with food and clothing up to maturity if he had been killed in action. He reasoned—and still reasons—that the human race would have been better off if people of his age, which was thirty-six at that time, were killed off and the young spared. As he sees it, there was no chance of a thirty-six-year-old insurance broker ever discovering a cure for cancer, say, but some eighteen-year-old who was killed, if he had survived, might possibly have made the discovery—or done something equally important for his fellow humans.

Today, in joining the Communist movement, Comrade Crosbie reasons that he is taking the best step possible for his descendants.

Comrade Crosbie's view is that he, as father of five children, will have a great many descendants. As he sees it, if the present drift of all the money in the country into the hands of an ever decreasing minority continues, his descendants will become starving serfs eventually. Although Comrade Crosbie would like new leisure for trout fishing and bridge at this time of life, he feels it is his duty to "die in the harness" working for a change of the system that will assure his descendants a just share of the resources of the country in which they are to be born.

All of which brings us to the young of the country and the movement toward Communism going on among them today. There are comparatively few Crosbies, although he told me that he knows of a dozen or so conservative educators, and a few business men, who are so disgusted with the programs of both major parties that they are seriously considering Communism, and probably will espouse that cause. Nevertheless, their numbers are negligible. But the numbers of young Communists being

trained in public—and even private—schools in the United States ought to give our Democratic and Republican leaders alike more serious pause.

Although no accurate statistics on the subject are available, surveys and various reports indicate there are about 150,000 enthusiastic, thinking young Communists in the public schools and state universities of the United States today. Not nearly that many men are enrolled in the American Army. And the figure is a minimum—some estimates place the scholastic Communists at 250,000.

The total is increasing. The National Student League, twenty-seven chapters of which marched solidly in the last May Day parade in New York City, is responsible for new recruiting daily.

Naturally Communists in the schools are most plentiful in New York City, where some place the total at 50,000 or more. But the National Student League is just that—national—it has active branches, with school pupils as recruiting sergeants, in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Baltimore, Denver, Providence, Mobile, Birmingham, Kansas City, Boston, Little Rock, Atlanta, Des Moines, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth. Enrollments vary from five to 2,300 in a single city.

The league, directed diligently by some of the coldest and keenest minds in the Communist party, is especially active among Negro students in the South, where it has been very successful ever since the Scottsboro case. Communist teachers, whom we'll examine in this article, see to it that the students are fed Red doctrines in vivid and flamboyant literature.

I happened on pamphlets of the literature secretly sent by Communist teachers to members of the National Student League for distribution throughout the country. The pamphlets generally denounce the Boy Scouts and R. O. T. C. The chief preachment of them all is "struggle in cooperation with that class which has everything to gain by a new social order and nothing to lose, the working class."

One pamphlet, secretly distributed around public schools in all the cities mentioned above, read:

"Professional patriots, local, Federal, and State Governments are uniting to destroy the educational opportunities of the masses. . . . Boards of Education have served their money masters well. . . . Workers' children are forced to fight to go to school. . . . Bankers and business men control what shall be taught. . . . Teachers are forced to teach lies to the children. . . . Throughout the United States it is the policy of the white rulers to keep the Negro workers in ignorance. . . . Life is entirely different in the new schools of Soviet Russia. . . . Teachers have a real voice in educational legislation. . . ."

Decidedly, radicalism has joined the three R's.

The Communist teachers are seeing that it gets due prominence among the three other R's. Exactly

how many teachers are workers in the Communist movement, or actually members of the hard-to-get-into Communist party, really a secret order, nobody knows. The party protects information about teachers because it wants them to keep their jobs—they are where they can do most good, the sachems of the Communist party believe. But, although many teachers keep their affiliations secret, a surprising number are willing to confess their Red faith publicly.

A piece of legislation was introduced in the New York Legislature not long ago, the Ives Bill. Nobody paid much attention to it because it looked like one of those high-sounding bills that permit a legislator to plaster his obscure name on some innocent if useless piece of legislation and so get himself some publicity. The bill provided an oath of allegiance for teachers. In part, the oath read:

"I solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States of America, the Constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully perform all duties of my position, to which I am now assigned."

The entire oath sounded altogether innocuous. New York City was extremely surprised when 700 public school teachers rose in wrath and indignantly protested that they would not take any such oath! Many of them stoutly announced they were members of the American League Against War and Fascism, an organization which includes such Red sachems as William Z. Foster and Robert Minor.

The Communist teachers of New York, bolder than those in other cities because they stand solidly together, make their force felt in school politics, as well as in their classrooms. The two radical groups, the Rank and Filers and the Militant Progressives, have power in the Teachers' Union of New York City. Professor John Dewey, of Columbia University, head of the union's special grievance committee, summarized their attitude in one sentence:

"The leaders of the minority groups conceive that the proper purpose of the union is to join the class war, in order to promote the cause of the workers against employers."

Wise city officials do not deny that Communism exists among the young in the schools of our country, or that it is championed by many teachers. But they are uncertain how to proceed.

The proposition was put to Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, a wise Chief Executive as well as an honest and plain-spoken one.

"What causes this Communistic sentiment?" Mayor La Guardia was asked.

"There is a great dissatisfaction among those fortunate enough to have received an education," he replied. "The reason for this is the lack of any solution of our economic troubles, or any justification of the conditions which have resulted in the maladjustment of our surpluses and our wants. I

agree that there is an extreme trend toward radicalism among the educated."

"What are you going to do about it?"

"Nothing can be done about it," responded Mayor La Guardia, who is famous for wanting to do things, and then doing them.

"Any action of mine would be of no avail," he added. "My method of correction lies in the correction of the condition which creates this situation. I advocate the readjustment of economic conditions. I want to go to the root of the matter."

Can anything be done about it?

I think so. Even Comrade Crosbie admitted to me that although he has espoused Communism he believes there are honest and intelligent, if misguided, men in the Democratic and Republican parties who are industriously trying to correct abuses by working from within. Not all persons prominent in politics strive simply to feather their own nests to the exclusion of all thought of the country's welfare, even Crosbie is convinced.

But are these honest men organizing teachers and students to enthusiastic support of programs that will work toward the "readjustment of economic conditions" and get "at the root of the matter," as Mayor La Guardia put it?

If they are, they certainly are keeping their efforts a secret. The intelligent student of today, who has high principles and is interested in the government of his country, takes a look at ways and means of doing his bit. He sees the major parties very busily working at the business of making fat livings out of government. His intelligence will not permit him to escape a conviction that scarcely anybody involved in government is sacrificing anything for the country, but everybody is seeking personal enrichment through service of the country. He either decides to get his, hops in and begins grabbing (thereby doing his part to alienate the next generation), or he turns in disgust from the two major parties and cocks his ear to hear new dogmas. Today he is being trained in the schools to accept such dogmas, even if radical.

The Crosbies are not many. But the sons and daughters of Crosbies now in schools are legion.

If our system of Democracy is to live it is up to those leaders in our two parties who are not simply professional politicians to convince the young in our schools and colleges that they are *wanted* and *needed* to correct abuses in the two parties. This can be done by demonstrating to them that there are self-sacrificing men and women now actually working to get at "the root of the matter," and by organizing them so that they can be told exactly what they are called upon to do.

Youth at present is being left to draw its own conclusions from a seat on the fence. The players inside the park ignore youth and, so far as youth can see, offer only an exhibition of how aggressive

and expert they are in taking care of themselves. Outside the park accomplished Communist artists cordially invite youth to look at a picture of how beautiful a pageant the show might be.

The Communist artists convinced Crosbie, a ma-

ture, balanced business man, to turn from the selfish players inside the park and devote his life to making the prophetic picture come true. They will easily convince youth in increasing numbers if the players continue to play for the benefit of themselves alone.

A Better Economic Order

By JOHN A. RYAN (Harper and Bros.)

*A Review of Monsignor Ryan's latest book, by Joseph
Thorning, S.J., Associate Editor of THOUGHT*

Depression, recovery and reconstruction are the three main headings of this volume. In the first two chapters, Dr. Ryan compares and contrasts the present crisis with previous periods of economic stagnation. Rejecting the purely monetary explanation of the panic, the author declares that "the main cause of the 1929 depression seems to have been over-production of capital goods and under-consumption of consumers' goods." It is a corollary of this theory that recovery can only come through a better distribution of purchasing power, i. e., higher wages for workers in industry and "the general establishment by law of the thirty-hour week." The author's advocacy of an adequate public works program is well known. Monsignor Ryan was urging a five billion dollar bond issue for this purpose back in the early days of the Hoover regime. He now insists that this bond issue need not be financed by Government payment of interest on loans from banks, corporations or individuals. In other words, he believes that bonds that would pay no interest should be sold to the Federal Reserve System, to be repaid within a fixed period, the money or credit then to be destroyed. Far from regarding this as a step toward national bankruptcy, Monsignor Ryan is inclined to think that such a measure would provide a healthy inflation in hard times and prevent dangerous inflation in good times.

As to reconstruction, Dr. Ryan offers the plan of economic organization recommended by Pius XI in the "Quadragesimo Anno." This would be in effect

a modern adaptation of the guild system. "The better economic order," he writes, "is essentially a guild organization adapted to a wage and machine system, plus a considerable measure of cooperative enterprise, government control and government ownership." Occupational groups are suggested which "would bind men together, not according to the position they occupy in the labor market but according to the diverse functions which they exercise in society." In the shoe industry, for example, the owners, managers and employees would be united with reference to the common social function they perform, namely, that of producing shoes. These occupational groups would be empowered by law to fix wages, interest, dividends and prices, to determine working conditions, and to adjust industrial disputes.

In view of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Schechter Poultry case, it is obvious that these objects cannot be effectively obtained by legislation without an amendment of the Federal Constitution. If this is enacted, then it might be feasible to provide for proper representation of both labor and the consumer on the boards or commissions that would shape policy for the above-mentioned occupational groups and trade associations. Since this portion of Dr. Ryan's work assumes the continuance of the NRA, it would necessarily have to be rewritten in the light of the recent decision by the highest court in the land.



PART IV



Bibliographies—Syllabus for Lectures—

Outlines for Study Clubs

A Selected Bibliography



THIS WORKING BIBLIOGRAPHY, in its present form, is suggested as a nucleus only, around which may be built a more substantial collection of specialized and subdivided titles. The compiler has limited himself, under each category, to a relatively few chosen titles which seem especially adapted for ready reference. He has also kept in mind the very practical question of immediate availability in English through local book stores and American publishers. The titles suggested below would also serve as a starting point for building up a school library.

The works here included have been selected because of their practical value for those who may not require an expert's knowledge, but must still have reliable, accurate, and current information. Those who desire to embark on specialized and broader research into specific aspects will find appropriate documentation in another list soon to be available.

Since modern Communism with its concomitant organized attack on Christianity and on all religion derives from the Russian Revolution and the Soviet State, it has been deemed advisable to include a short series of references covering the fall of the Russian Empire and the coming of the Bolsheviks.

EDMUND A. WALSH.

I

General History of Pre-Bolshevik Russia

1. "A History of Russia," Pares, Sir Bernard (Knopf—New York)
2. "Russia from the Varangians to the Bolsheviks," Beazley, Birkett, and Forbes (Oxford, 1918)
3. "History of Russia," Platonov, S.F. (Macmillan, 1925)
4. "History of Russia," Vernadsky (Yale University Press, New Haven)
5. "Russia," Wallace, Mackenzie (Cassell—London and New York)
6. "An Economic History of Soviet Russia," Lawton, Lancelot (Macmillan—London and New York)
7. "The Russian Revolution 1917-1926," Lawton, Lancelot (Macmillan—London and New York)
8. "An Economic History of Russia," Mavor, Sir George (Vols. 1 and 2—Dutton Co., New York; Vol. 3, Macmillan Co., New York)
9. "Modern Russian History," Kornilov, Alexander (Knopf—New York)
10. "Russia," O'Hara & Makeef (Scribner's—New York, 1925)

Those desiring further references under this heading will find valuable leads in the bibliographies attached to each of the above, particularly at the end of the one-volume history by Sir Bernard Pares.

II

The End of the Russian Empire Transition to Soviet Russia

1. "Fall of the Russian Empire," by Walsh, Edmund A. (Little, Brown Co., Boston. There is also a dollar edition in Blue Ribbon Books)
2. "The End of the Russian Empire," by Florinsky, Michael T. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1931)
3. "Documents of Russian History 1914-1917," by Golder, Frank Alfred (The Century Co., New York, 1927)
4. "The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1918: Documents and Materials," by Bunyan and Fisher (Stanford University Press, 1934)
5. Lawton, Lancelot (See works listed under Section I, No. 6)
6. Mavor, Sir George (See Volume 3 of work listed under Section I, No. 8)
7. "The Catastrophe," by Alexander Kerensky (D. Appleton, New York). Kerensky's own version of the Bolshevik triumph and the collapse of the Provisional Government.
8. "Ambassador's Memoirs," 3 Volumes. Maurice Paleologue (Doubleday, Doran, New York). The memoirs of the French Ambassador to Russia during the years leading up to the Revolution. One of the most complete and enlightening commentaries on the causes and circumstances of the Revolution.
9. "The White Armies of Russia," by George Stewart (Macmillan, New York). The only handy volume in English dealing with the abortive counter-revolution and the defeat of the White Armies.
10. "The Russian Revolution," by William Chamberlin, 2 Volumes. (Macmillan, New York, 1935). The most recent and comprehensive work of an informed observer who spent some 12 years in Russia. Covers period from overthrow of Czarism to the New Economic Policy (1917-1921).

The Bolshevik (Communist) Regime

Many of the titles listed under Section II overlap into this section. The following titles deal more in detail with the origin and program of the Communist Party.

1. *Marx, Karl*—"Capital" and other writings. A handy, condensed collection by Max Eastman in "The Modern Library," No. 202.
2. "Communism" by Laski, Harold J. (Home University Library, Henry Holt & Co., New York). An excellent and condensed explanation of the essence of Communism by a writer whose tendency is sympathetic towards Socialism, but who preserves in this little volume a certain objectivity. He makes the usual conventional error of comparing the Bolsheviks with the Jesuits as did Fulop-Miller in the volume mentioned below.
3. "The Mind and Face of Bolshevism" by Fülöp-Miller, Rene. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Also in dollar edition). This volume is very valuable, but is marred by the final chapter on the ethics of Bolshevism which compares the Bolsheviks with the Jesuits and refers to the ancient calumny about the end justifying the means. The author later retracted this error in his volume: "The Power and Secret of the Jesuits."
4. "Russia" by Von Eckardt, Hans (Knopf, Alfred A., New York, 1932). An excellent and comprehensive work.
5. "Bolshevism: Theory and Practice" by Gurian, Waldemar (Sheed & Ward, 63 Fifth Avenue, New York)
6. "The Last Stand—An Interpretation of the Soviet Five Year Plan" by Walsh, Edmund A. (Little, Brown & Co., Boston). Contains the theory underlying the Soviet State as well as the practical application of policy.
7. "The X.Y.Z. of Communism" by Colton, Ethan T. (Macmillan Co., New York, 1931)
8. "Christianity and Class War" by Berdyaev, Nicholas (Sheed and Ward, New York)
9. "The Russian Revolution" by Berdyaev, Nicholas (Sheed and Ward, New York)
10. "The End of Our Time" by Berdyaev, Nicholas (Sheed and Ward, New York)
11. "Soviet Russia—A Living Record and a History" by Chamberlin, William Henry (Little, Brown & Co., Boston). Continues the record beyond 1921 where his "History of the Russian Revolution" ended.
12. "Russia's Iron Age" by Chamberlin, William Henry (Little, Brown & Co., Boston). The years of the 5-Year Plan—up to 1933.
13. "The Tragedy of Russia" by Durant, Will (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1933)
14. "Seven Years in Soviet Russia" by Scheffer, Paul (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1932). Excellent and authoritative.
15. "Escape from the Soviets" by Tchernavin, Tatiana (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1934)
16. "I Speak for the Silent" by Tchernavin, Vladimir (Hale, Cushman and Flint, New York, 1934)
17. "Red Russia" by Seibert, Theodor (Century Co., New York)

18. "Just What Is Communism?" by Feely, Raymond T., S. J., (Paulist Press, 401 W. 59th St., New York). The first of a series of popular pamphlets which will summarize and popularize the teachings and practices of Communism. Others are in preparation.

No serious student should remain content with consulting the above works by critical writers who have specialized on Russia and may be trusted. Original sources by Communist authorities or by those sympathetic should also be consulted. Such works may be obtained from the International Publishing Company, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City, New York. The writings of Lenin alone require some 32 volumes. These publications, as well as other Communist propaganda, can usually be obtained from the Communist headquarters or their book store in your City, as the Party maintains a local unit and a book store in the larger cities of the United States. The New York store (Workers' Library Publishers) is located at 50 East 13th Street, New York City. The Washington store is at 513 F St., N.W.

A few of the more important and permanent publications are listed herewith.

Bolshevism from the Communist Point of View

1. "Ten Days that Shook the World—With Introduction by Lenin" by John Reed (International Publishers, 381 4th Ave., New York City). A story of the Bolshevik Revolution by an American Journalist who served the Bolshevik Government.
2. "The First Time in History" by Strong, Anna Louise (Boni and Liveright, New York). An account by an American woman who sympathizes with the Bolsheviks and has gone to live permanently in Soviet Russia. Miss Strong has just published, April 1935, her latest work describing her change of allegiance—"I Change Worlds" (Henry Holt & Co., New York).
3. "The History of the Russian Revolution," 3 Volumes by Trotsky, Leon (Simon and Shuster, New York). A brilliant but one-sided, account of the Revolution by Lenin's chief aide.
4. "Leninism" by Stalin, Joseph (International Publishers, New York) Stalin's official version of the Bolshevik program.
5. "Dialectical Materialism" by Adoratsky, Director, Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow (International Publishers, New York). An exposition, not very lucid but official of the metaphysics of Marxism.

In addition to the above books of more permanent significance there is an enormous amount of periodical literature and pamphlets published by the Communist Party.

These may be obtained at the sources noted above. The Communist newspaper "The Daily Worker" is on sale in all cities and contains notices and advertisements of such literature.

6. "Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx" by Sidney Hook (John Day, N. Y.) An explanation, by a Communist professor, of Marx's economics.
7. "What Marx Really Meant" by G. H. D. Cole (Knopf, N. Y.) An explanation of Marxian thought.
8. "The Meaning of Marx" Edited by Sidney Hook (Farrar and Rhinehart, N. Y.) A symposium by five informed commentators, some favorable others unfavorable to Marx.

IV

The Atheism of Communism

1. Pius XI—Letter to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, February 2, 1930.
2. "The Catholic Church in Present Day Russia" by Walsh, Edmund A. A report delivered before the International Congress of the Catholic Press, Brussels, Belgium, September 2, 1930 and at the American Historical Association Twelfth Annual Meeting, December 29, 1931, Minneapolis, Minn. Reprints, together with a summary of the more significant changes since that date up to 1935, are available from Edmund A. Walsh, S. J., Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.
3. "The Bolshevik Persecution of Christianity" by McCullagh, Captain Francis (London, John Murray, 1924) Can also be obtained through American book stores. Try Dutton, New York.
4. Gurian; Ekhard; Colton; Chamberlin; Seibert; Walsh: Each of these has material regarding the persecution of religion in the works referred to above in Sections II and III.
5. "Religion in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" by Yaroslavsky (International Publishing Company, 381 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.) This authoritative declaration of the anti-religious content of Communism and the intention of its leaders to extend the same program to the entire world is by the Bolshevik leader who directed for many years the Association of the Godless in Soviet Russia. This pamphlet can also be obtained at any Communist book shop. The important thing to remember is that the principles and program there set forth are obligatory on all Communists and are being promulgated in every Communist school and club. The growth of these Communist schools and other training centers has been marked in recent years. Closely affiliated with the International of Proletarian Freethinkers, these atheistic influences function in many cities. A few of the more prominent ones are noted in the speech, in this collection, by Congressman Tinkham.
6. "Religion" by Lenin (International Publishers, New York)
7. "The A.B.C. of Communism" by Bukharin. This famous text book compiled for use in all Communist schools is not easy to obtain. Search will have to be made for it by those desirous of obtaining a copy.
8. "Crucifying Christ in Our Colleges" by Gilbert, Dan. With the Collaboration of Students of Four State Universities. (Alex Dulfer Print-

ing Co., 853 Howard St., San Francisco, Calif.) This important publication is the result of a study made by these five collaborators in certain colleges and universities of the United States. It sets forth in the shape of definite cases the inculcation of Communism and Atheism by a large group of professors, particularly in departments of History, Sociology, Economics and Biology.

V

Social Reform as the Basic and Best Counter-Attack Against Communism

The increasing literature on Social Justice and the Reform of Capitalism is too well known to need mention here. Each reader will probably have his own favorite volume. Beginning with the Encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI a new Syllabus is now being worked out which will form a part of a later communication.

Pope Leo XIII in his Encyclical on Christian Democracy (1901) states that it is an error to consider the social question merely as an economic one; whereas it is clearly a moral and religious matter. Hence the importance in these days of realizing the moral character of the problems which are confronting the American public. The Encyclicals, *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*, which redefine the problem and bring it up-to-date, are basic. A complete interpretation may be found in "A Christian Social Manifesto" by J. Husslein (Bruce Company, Milwaukee); The Encyclicals may be obtained from the "Paulist Press," or separately from "America Press" or "Catholic Truth Society." A synopsis with good commentary may be found in "Survey of Sociology" by Ross (Bruce Company), page 223. This book also treats briefly the question of "A Living Wage" and "Social Insurance." A more specific treatment of "A Living Wage" and "Old Age Pensions" and "Unemployment Insurance" is found in "Insuring the Essentials" by B. N. Armstrong (Macmillan, 1932). For later developments there have been continuous articles in "America" and "The Commonweal," and from a non-Catholic point of view in the "Survey," N. Y., which is recommended. The early work on "A Living Wage" by John A. Ryan, is somewhat out of date. "Distributive Justice" another volume by Monsignor Ryan is more recent and would be helpful. His latest work "A Better Economic Order" is reviewed in this collection by Fr. Thorning.

VI

A Few Selected Monographs on Specific Phases of Communism and Atheism

1. "Civic Training in Soviet Russia" Harper, Samuel N. (University of Chicago Press, 1929) An account of the elaborate machinery at work in Russia to form the mind of the young

to integral Marxism—schools, literature, art, cinema, radio, sports, song, dance, etc. An identical set-up will be found in Communist circles in the United States.

2. *"New Minds, New Men"* Woody, Thomas (Macmillan, New York, 1932) A similar valuable account of the means employed by Communism to re-make the human soul to the image and likeness of Bolshevism.
3. *"Freedom Versus Organization"* Russell, Bertrand (W. W. Norton & Co., N. Y., 1934) One of the few books by this writer that can be recommended. In chapters XVII-XX he discusses Marxism with keen understanding of its errors, though with sympathy for some of its claims. He shows the weakness of the *"Labor Theory"* of value and Dialectical Materialism. Due reservations made respecting his own incidental philosophy, Russell's critique of Marxism is trenchant.
4. *"Socialism"* Cathrein-Gettleman (Benziger, N. Y., 1904) This still remains one of the most substantial contributions to the literature critical of Socialism and Communism. Written before the Russian Revolution, it well repays reading after the event. His discussion of the Marxian theory of Value and Surplus value (pp. 143-158) is still valid. There is much valuable information also on the anti-religious content of Communism.
5. *"The Science of Ethics"* Cronin, Michael (Benziger, 1917) A good ethical examination of Socialism and Communism will be found in Vol. II, pp. 113-297.
6. *"The Servile State"* Belloc, Hilaire (London, Foulis, 1912) An excellent analysis of the trend of economic developments made 23 years ago and strikingly confirmed by the events of the past few years. A book that should be republished. It has been largely reproduced in *"The American Review"* beginning with Volume I, No. 1.
7. *"The American Review"* formerly *"The Bookman"* passim—has published a number of excellent criticisms of Bolshevism—e.g.—*"Bolshevism"* by Christopher Dawson (Vol. I, No. 1). Those who have access to a file of this admirable review will be richly repaid by examining its contents.
8. *Marx*. One good biography should be consulted. The best, sympathetic but fairly critical, is by Otto Ruhle, available in many languages, but the compiler of this list has not seen it in English.
9. *Lenin*—Numerous biographies exist.
 - a. *"Lenin"* by Ralph Fox (Harcourt, Brace, N. Y.) The most reliable from the Communist point of view, by a Communist and an admirer.
 - b. *"Lenin, God of the Godless"* by Ferdinand Ossendowsky (Dutton, New York.) Told in the form of a story—a historical novel based on historical data. Hostile and terrifying. Some regard it as too sensational.
 - c. *"Lenin"* by Prince Mirsky (The Holme Press, London, but probably available in American book stores). A favorable estimate by a Russian Prince of the old regime who has accepted Leninism.
 - d. *"La Vie de Lenine"* by Pierre Chasles

(in French, Librairie Plon, Paris) Compiler of this bibliography has not seen an English version. Hostile and condemnatory.

e. *"Fall of the Russian Empire"* by Walsh, Edmund A. cited above—Chapters XIV to end contain an interpretation of Lenin.

f. *"Lenin in History"* Current History—March 1924. In this periodical, soon after the death of Lenin appeared a symposium by six writers, of whom one was opposed and five favorable. The favorable commentators were all well known Communists—such as Trotsky—whose beliefs were known beforehand. Valuable as a sample of the adoration of Communists for Lenin.

10. *Stalin*—A good biography should also be consulted—e.g. *"Stalin"* by Don Isaac Levine, (Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, New York)

VII

Atheism and Communism in Periodicals

(References from Reader's Guide, Jan. 1929-Jan. 1935)

- Five year plan of atheism*—Lit. Dig. 109:21-2. May 9, 1931
- Russia's ban on God*—Lit. Dig. 114:24. Nov. 5, 1932
- Russia's fighting atheists*—Living Age. 342:400-3. July 23, 1932
- Christianity, communism*—F. M. Davidson. Survey 68:383. Aug. 15, 1932
- Religion of communism*—R. Niebuhr. Atlantic. 147:462-70. April, 1931
- Attacks on God and religion*—L. P. Bursker. National Republic 22:3-4. Oct., 1934
- Christianity and communism*—N. Berdiaeff. Commonweal. 18:440-2. Sept. 8, 1933
- Church made communism*—D. C. Colony. il. Forum. 92:67-72. April, 1934
- Discussion 92: sup. 11. Sept., 1934
- Christianity and communism*—H. V. White. Christian Cent. 49:1440-2. Nov. 23, 1932
- Christianity and communism*—Missionary review. 56:69-70. Feb., 1933
- Christianity and the direct negative*—E. Shillito. Christian Cent. 50:1171:3. Sept. 20, 1933
- Communism and the old pagan*—J. W. Krutch. Harper. 165:344-51. Oct., 1932
- Communism, socialism and Christianity*—J. McDowell. Missionary Rev. 56:351-3. July, 1933
- Irreligion of communist and capitalist*—H. R. Niebuhr. Christian Cent. 47:1306-7. Oct. 29, 1930
- Marxism and the religious attitude*—T. Secker. Canadian Forum. 14:133-5. Jan., 1934
- Marxism and the religious attitude: reply*—C. J. Gustafson. Canadian Forum. 14:238-9. March, 1934
- Missionaries of atheism*—Miss. Rev. 52:948-9. Dec., 1929
- Problem of communistic religion*—R. Niebuhr. World Tomorrow. 17:378-9. July 26, 1934
- Religion and communism, a parallel*—H. Black. Christian Cent. 51:861-2. June 27, 1934
- Russian atheists attack U. S.*—N. I. Masters. Nat. Republic. 21:17-8. Nov., 1933
- The Communist Party*—Fortune. Sept., 1934
- Russian Communism as a Religion*—The Yale Review. Winter Number, 1932

What is this Communism?—Harpers Magazine.
Dec., 1930
Marxism After Fifty Years—Current History.
March, 1933
Religion for a Scanty Band—(A striking thesis that Communism and the Catholic Church must finally meet in conflict). Harpers Magazine.
Aug., 1933

Communism and Soviet Russia: Selected Articles from
"America," 1928-1935

"Voice from Catacombs"—La Farge. May 19, 1928
"God and the Tractors"—La Farge. April 12, 1930
"Nation in Exile"—Strakhovsky. April 28, 1930
"After March 15 in Russia"—McGarrigle.
June 14, 1930
"Are Bolsheviks Dangerous?"—La Farge.
Aug. 2, 1930
"Why Bolshevism?"—La Farge. Aug. 23, 1930
"The Soviet Paradox"—La Farge. Jan. 17, 1931
"The Soviet War Threat"—La Farge. March 7, 1931
"Russian Church in Exile"—Christich. July 11, 1931
"Stalin Proclaims Change"—La Farge. Aug. 1, 1931
"Challenge of Bolshevik Education"—La Farge.
Aug. 15, 1931
"Hope for Russia"—Strakhovsky. Jan. 27, 1932
"Will Negro Turn Communist?"—La Farge.
May 14, 1932
"Obstacles to Communism"—La Farge.
June 11, 1932
"The Appeal of Bolshevism"—La Farge.
Dec. 3, 1932
"Communism and Intellectuals"—Dorothy Day.
Jan. 28, 1933
"Shall We Recognize Russia?"—La Farge.
Feb. 18, 1933

"Distractions and Reality in Russia"—La Farge.
April 1, 1933
"Jewish Protests, Russian Experiments"—La Farge.
April 8, 1933
"The Diabolic Plot"—Dorothy Day. April 29, 1933
"Soviets and Human Rights"—La Farge.
May 13, 1933
"Russian Propaganda"—Grady. May 27, 1933
"Moscow Starvation Colony"—La Farge.
Aug. 12, 1933
"Russian Famine"—La Farge. Nov. 11, 1933
"What Price Recognition?"—Strakhovsky.
Nov. 25, 1933
"What Recognition Means"—Thorning.
Dec. 2, 1933
"Moscow Comment on Recognition"—La Farge.
Dec. 23, 1933
"Advertising Bolshevism"—La Farge. May 26, 1934
"What Bolsheviks Fear Most"—La Farge.
Sept. 22, 1934
"Russia Enters the League"—La Farge.
Oct. 6, 1934
"Quebec Deals With Communism"—B. H.
Oct. 13, 1934
"American Women and Communism"—Godden.
Oct. 20, 1934
"Soviet Experiment Reappraised"—La Farge.
Oct. 27, 1934
"Soviet Russia Fights Religion"—Godden.
Jan. 19, 1935
"Causes and Communism"—La Farge. Feb. 9, 1935
"Liberals and Moscow Terror"—La Farge.
March 2, 1935
"Russia and the Bishop"—Toomey. March 9, 1935
"Can Russia Guarantee Peace?"—La Farge.
May 18, 1935
"How Rich Is Russia?"—Byrne. April 27, 1935
"American Communism in London"—Godden.
Feb. 23, 1935



Historic Evolution, Economic Postulates, and Philosophic Bases of Communism

A Course Suitable for Colleges, Study Clubs or Private Research

The following headings provide for a detailed study of the rise and evolution of Communism from its earliest recorded manifestations down to its most pretentious and concrete application in present-day Soviet Russia. If, as Thucydides observed, history is philosophy teaching by examples, such a survey will reveal a striking resemblance between the social problems of our own day and those of previous generations. Progress in the natural sciences, in material inventions and the diffusion of conveniences has far outrun progress in the art of stabilizing human relationships and conserving spiritual values. Much of our present grief derives from ancient and still uncured ills. Many social and economic problems appear new and formidable because of the accidents of time, environment and intensity. But they are new only in degree and their modern form, not in kind or in origin.

The accompanying schedule will indicate the broad lines of the historic development in the Communist idea of what a proper solution should be from its earliest expressions in Crete and Sparta, through the speculations and academic restraint characteristic of Greek philosophy, down to the direct action and sweeping changes of impatient Bolshevism.

I

HISTORICAL

a.

Classical Communism

Social control in Crete, Sparta and the Laws of Lycurgus. Plato's "*Republic*." Aristotle's critique of Plato's Communism. Pythagoras and the experiments of Lipara.

b.

Early Christian and Medieval Communism

The Communism of the Acts, of the Fathers of the Church and Religious Orders. St. Augustine's "*City of God*." The heresies. The vogue of the Joachimites.

c.

Utopian Communism

Romantic School of humanists and philosophers. More's "*Utopia*," Bacon's "*Atlantis*," Campanella's "*City of the Sun*," Harrington's "*Oceana*," Cabet's "*Voyage to Icaria*." Actual achievements in Paraguay.

d.

Revolutionary Communism

Social unrest becomes social revolt. Spade work of Rousseau, Voltaire, Helvetius, Condorcet, Diderot, Morelly, Mably, d'Holbach. The Rationalists and the Encyclopedists. Secret Societies. Attack on the First and Second Estate in the French Revolution. The conspiracy of Babeuf. First attempt at the establishment of a Communist state.

e.

Scientific Communism

Marx, Engels, Bebel, Lassalle. Marx's synthesis of Hegel and Darwin. Preparing the attack on the Third Estate. The Chartist Movement in England. Failure of the Paris Commune.

f.

Lenin's Communism

Launching the attack on the Third Estate. The transition from dialectics to machine guns, Nov. 7, 1917. Foundation and purposes of the Third International.

g.

Stalin's Communism

The attack on the Third Estate. The subjugation and "liquidation" of an independent peasantry. The international scope of the Five Year Plan, as a revolutionary blow at the non-Communist world, reaffirmed by Stalin on January 10, 1933.

II

THE NATURE, CONTENT AND PROGRAM OF MODERN COMMUNISM

(A critique)

a.

Philosophic postulates

The "General Line" from which no deviation is

permitted. The materialistic interpretation of History. Monism and Evolution as the basis of Communist ideology. Idealism and spirituality rejected. The works of Lenin on the origin of ideas, sensation, free will, etc.

b.

Economic postulates

The Marxian concept of Value and Surplus Value. The origin of Capital. Value and Price. Previous enunciation of same theory by Ricardo and others. Lack of originality in Marx. Class warfare. Abolition of classes, private property and religion. The dictatorship of the proletariat.

c.

The Tactics of Communism

Marx's adaptation of Hegel to economics. The Hegelian Dialectic applied to the evolution of Capital. False assumption of Marx as to private property in primitive times. Thesis—Antithesis—Synthesis. The Communist Manifesto. The foundation of the 1st International. Its history and end. Foundation and work of the Second International.

d.

Leninism

What did Lenin add to Marx? Communism by revolution, not by evolution. The *coup d'etat* in Russia and the introduction of integral Communism. Stalin's definition of "Leninism" in his book of that name. Foundation of the Third International in 1919. The World Revolution under Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin.

e.

The Atheism of Communism

The irreligion of Communism is characterized by three essential qualities:

1. *Inseparable* from its politics and economics.
2. *Obligatory*: No orthodox Communist can believe in any God whatsoever.
3. *Universal*: Controls the actions and programme of every section of Communist Party; hence determines the action of Communist Party of United States of America.

f.

The Communist Party in the United States of America

cf. Articles on that subject in body of this collection.

g.

The Counter Catholic Program for Social Justice

cf. Part III of this collection.

Bibliography

The general bibliography for Communism will serve for this series also, with the exception of the first four divisions. The historical information needed for those specific topics may be found in the following works:

1. "*Socialism Before the French Revolution*," by Guthrie, W. B. (Macmillan, New York, 1907.) This little volume is extremely valuable, particularly in the footnotes and other bibliographical helps.
2. "*Histoire du Communisme*," by Sudre, Alfred. (Paris, 1850.) Excellent and comprehensive. Compiler does not know whether it exists in English or not. Try Public Libraries.
3. "*Histoire du Communisme*," by Walter Gerard, (Paris, Payot, 1931.) A very comprehensive history of Communism from ancient times. In several volumes. Bibliography is remarkable. Has been consulted only in French by present writer.
4. "*Die Entwicklung der Socialismus von Utopia zur Wissenschaft*," by Engels, Friedrich. (Berlin, 1891.) Exists in English under title "*Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*."
5. "*Geschichte des Antiken Communismus und Socialismus*," by Pohlman. (In German.) Most complete.
6. "*Medieval Socialism*," by Jarrett, Bede, O. S. B. (Little Brown Co., Boston.)
7. "*Social Theories of the Middle Ages*," by Jarrett, Bede, O. S. B. (Little, Brown Co., Boston.) Two excellent works.
8. "*Democratic Industry*," by Husslein. (Kenedy, New York.)
9. "*Bible and Labor*," by Husslein. (Macmillan, New York.)



A General Series of Lectures or Conferences on Communism and Atheism

Suitable for public lectures of a more popular nature

1.

The Catholic concept of the State. Sovereignty—in what does it consist and where does it reside? Rights and obligations of the individual. Rights and obligations of civil government. Natural rights and civil rights.

2.

Capital and Labor mutually dependent in the production of economic goods. Functions of both. Duties of both. The Christian synthesis.

3.

Marxian Communism. Its false postulates. The Marxian theory of Value. Economic Determinism. The materialistic concept of History. Dialectical Materialism. Class warfare. Anti-religious content of Communism.

4.

Leninism. Its origin and antecedents. Its previous intent to abolish religion. The Soviet attempt to create not only a Godless state in Russia but an entirely new civilization on an atheistic and anti-individualistic basis. The Soviet concept of Law and of the State.

5.

The War on God. Initial phase, 1918-1919. Various pretexts. Violence and brutality.

6.

Second phase, 1920-1924. The attack on religious organizations. The trials in Moscow at Easter, 1923. Arrest and trial of Petrograd priests.

7.

Death of Lenin, 1924, followed by internal dissension within the Party. The conflict between Trotsky and Stalin. Triumph of Stalin and banishment of Trotsky. Comparative quiet on the "religious front."

8.

Renewal of the attack on God. Foundation of the "Association of the Godless" under governmental

auspices, in 1925. Proposals to make Russia wholly Godless by 1933. The "Five Year Plan." New decrees of 1929. Analysis of their provisions.

9.

Practical methods adopted by skilled propagandists. Atheism in the press, in the home, in the kindergarten, schools, in Trade Unions, the Army and workmen's clubs: atheism in the streets, in theaters and universities; atheism by radio, by the cinema and public lectures. Universality of the attack. Political, economic and social discriminations against believers. Confiscation and destruction of church edifices. Arrests and executions. The victims on Solovetsky Island, in the prisons of the Secret Police, and in convict camps.

10.

Effects on the moral and cultural life of the nation. The demoralization of youth. International scope of the movement. Communist activities throughout the world.

11.

The organization of the Communist Party in the United States of America. Its dependency on Moscow. Number and location of its twenty local sections. The number and location of its "Workers' Schools." The program of the American Party and its various activities. Tactics. Affiliated organizations. Sympathetic organizations. Actual strength and probable influence.

12.

The protests of Pope Pius XI against religious persecution. Protests of others. Not true that persecution has ceased. In many respects it has been intensified. Necessity of united and continuous Catholic action: Organization—Information—Publication.

Bibliography

The general bibliography on Communism and Atheism will serve for this series—except for the first two lectures. Documentation for those topics can be found in the following works:

For Lecture I

1. "Church and State," by Ryan and Miller. (Fordham University Press, New York.)
2. "Diuturnum Illud"—On Origin of Civil Power. By Leo XIII.
3. "Immortale Dei"—On the Christian Constitution of States. By Leo XIII.
4. "The Science of Ethics," by Cronin. (Benziger Brothers.) Vol. II, Chapter XVI.
5. "The Framework of a Christian State," by Cahill, S. J. (Dublin, Gill and Company). Chapter XXIII.
6. "Contra Juramentum Fidelitatis," by St. Robert Bellarmine. Consult also the classic life of Bellarmine by Fr. Brodrick, S. J., of the English province.
7. "De Legibus," by Suarez. Translation now available from Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D. C..
8. "Praellectiones," by DeVitoria. Consult also the admirable writings of James Brown Scott on Vitoria, Suarez and Bellarmine in "The Catholic Concept of International Law." (Published by the Georgetown Law School, Washington, D. C.)
9. "The Things That Are Not Caesar's," by Maritain. (Scribner's, 1931.)
10. "Democracy and Bellarmine," by Rager, John C. (Quality Print, Shelbyville, Ind.) A condensed but well documented study of Bellarmine's teachings.
11. O'Rahilly, Alfred. A series of articles in "Studies," the review published by the Irish province, Dublin.
"Catholic Origin of Democracy," Studies, March, 1919.
"Sources of English and American Democracy," Studies, June, 1919.

"Sovereignty of the People," Studies, March and June, 1921.
 "Democracy of St. Thomas," Studies, March, 1920.
 "Suarez and Democracy," Studies, March, 1918.
 "Democracy, Parliament and Cromwell," Studies, December, 1918.
 "Some Theology on Tyranny," Irish Theological Quarterly, October, 1920.

For Lecture II

Pending the compilation of a new syllabus on Sociology, the following are suggested as a few ready references from the enormous literature that exists.

1. "Rerum Novarum," by Leo XIII.
2. "Quadragesimo Anno," by Pius XI.
3. "Christian Social Manifesto," by Husslein. (Bruce Co., Milwaukee.)
4. "Democratic Industry," by Husslein. (Kenedy, New York.)
5. "Man and Society," by Haas, Francis J. (Century, 1930, New York.)
6. "Catholic Social Principles," by Watt, Lewis. (Benziger, 1930, New York.)
7. "Social Principles of the Gospel," by Lugan-Riggs. (Macmillan, 1928, New York.)
8. "Distributive Justice," by Ryan, John. (Macmillan, 1927, New York.)
9. "Survey of Sociology," by Ross. (Bruce Co., Milwaukee. Consult also the files of "America," the "Commonweal," "The Catholic Mind" and "Catholic Action" (organ of National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.) for important statements by Catholic economists and sociologists.



